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# CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE ADMINISTRATIVE GEOGRAPHY OF LATE SASANIAN AND EARLY ISLAMIC AL-ʿIRĀQ

By Michael G. Morony\*

## I. INTRODUCTION

Masʿūdī concludes his discussion of the Sasanian organization of the Sawād of al-ʿIrāq by saying that “many of these subdistricts are today as they were at that time”,<sup>1</sup> thereby contributing to the impression that the basic territorial framework of Sasanian administration survived into the Islamic period with very little change. The main justification for this point of view consists of terminological information provided by authors such as Ibn Khurradādhbih<sup>2</sup> in the form of administrative units named mainly after late Sasanian rulers which appear to have been in use in the ʿAbbāsī period. It seems entirely reasonable to suppose that the names and the administrative units which they designate are pre-Islamic, and this is the way Obermeyer<sup>3</sup> and Le Strange<sup>4</sup> used this information.

However, the validity of this approach appears to be compromised by the assumption of continuity and the belief in the essential sameness of former times that allowed many of the Arabic-writing geographers, such as Masʿūdī, to describe Sasanian conditions in terms appropriate to their own period. The most obvious usages with regard to administrative geography concern the use of the term *sawād* for central and lower al-ʿIrāq even when speaking of the Sasanian period, and the persistent references to al-Mawṣil when speaking of the period before that city was founded. A close scrutiny, then, of the structure of the administrative geography of al-ʿIrāq in the late Sasanian and early Islamic periods should be one way to test the thesis that, after the Muslim conquest, the Arabs took over the Sasanian administration as it stood.

There are several ways of approaching this question. In spite of all the problems, it is not wise to ignore the information provided in the schematic descriptions by the Arabic-writing geographers which seem to be based on the ʿAbbāsī administrative system or provided in the Middle Persian catalogue of the provincial capitals of Iran, the significance of which is discussed below.<sup>5</sup> However, it is always necessary to realize that administrative designations are also used descriptively to denote geographical regions, whether or not the regions in question were actually functioning as administrative districts. Although there has been much important and useful scholarship on the historical geography of al-ʿIrāq, merely to fix the location and to prove the existence of a particular town or city does not necessarily prove that it was an administrative centre at a particular time. Also, the tendency for place names to drift from one location to another is added reason for caution.

In order to describe the real administrative structure, it is necessary to supply the details about the presence or appointment of officials and their jurisdictions from historical sources, where the many incidental references to officials are less likely to be as schematic as the geographers’ descriptions. Such information also makes it possible to distinguish and to compare different kinds of responsibilities and officials. In short, for the purposes of comparison, the nature of an administrative jurisdiction is as important as its existence.

The main difficulty in using historical and literary sources for this purpose is, of course, the well-known circumstance that the Arabic texts in the form that we have them are not contemporary with the first century of Islam (to say nothing of their information about the Sasanian period), a situation which encourages scepticism about their contents. To a certain extent, evidence from Greek and Syriac sources which are contemporary with the late Sasanian and early Islamic periods provides a control on the information in Arabic sources. Contemporary evidence is also supplied by coins in the form of mint-marks and dates beginning in the late fifth century.<sup>6</sup> Early Islamic coins in the Sasanian style

\*Cartography by Noël L. Díaz

sometimes add the name of the governor and Islamic post-reform coins that begin at the end of the first/seventh century have the name of the mint city written out in Arabic script. The obvious usefulness of this kind of information for nailing down a particular aspect of finance administration in time and space is unfortunately undermined by the ambiguous nature of the abbreviations used as mint-marks on many Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian coins. Assumptions of administrative continuity have come to the rescue, supported by the assertion that the Sasanian mints were confiscated by the Muslims at the time of the conquest.<sup>7</sup> Both Paruck<sup>8</sup> and Walker<sup>9</sup> have argued that Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian mint-marks may be identified among the mint cities named on post-reform coins. Going even further, Blau<sup>10</sup> argued that the administrative centres of fiscal districts could be expected to be the locations for mints because taxes were collected in cash, and that the continuity in fiscal districts meant continuity of mint locations, thus justifying the use of Islamic administrative geography to identify Sasanian mint-marks. Naturally, such an approach to these questions has only increased the impression of administrative continuity in a somewhat circular fashion, and Paruck himself eventually decided that the mint-marks on Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian coins did not always correspond to the mint-names on post-reform coins.<sup>11</sup> More recently, Bivar<sup>12</sup> has suggested that Sasanian mint-marks should only be identified with the official Sasanian names of cities known to have been administrative centres, and Göbl<sup>13</sup> has proposed dealing with them by identifying them with the abbreviations found together with the complete form of place-names on Sasanian administrative seals and seal impressions, and by using the comparative number of coins with particular mint-marks found in hoards to determine how near to or far from their place of origin the place where they were found may have been.

The inscriptions on Sasanian administrative seals not only provide a useful control on mint-marks but are themselves an important source of information about administrative geography. Epigraphic administrative seals all belong to the fifth, sixth, and early seventh centuries. They contain the name, title, and jurisdiction of an official in the centre, and have the larger region to which the district or city belonged written out around the rim. The significance of this type of source lies in the fact that such seals were meant to be used, and seal impressions are the most important of all because they record the actual use of seals of Sasanian officials to authenticate documents, to ensure proper weights and measures or to certify commercial transactions. Seal inscriptions thus provide two kinds of information. They contain indications about the structural hierarchy of administrative units and they tell us whether the person who was supposed to use the seal was a finance official, a judge, or a Zoroastrian priest.<sup>14</sup> Unfortunately, seals do not contain dates, so they can only be ascribed to the late Sasanian period in a general way. Nor is any corresponding body of Islamic administrative seals available for comparison.<sup>15</sup>

As the seals indicate, religious administration was an important dimension of the total system. Zoroastrian priests in the cities and judges of districts were part of the Sasanian government and were expected to enforce decrees, act as checks on local secular officials, perform judicial responsibilities, deal with matters affecting personal status and seal documents. It is reasonable, therefore, to suppose that the organization of the Zoroastrian priesthood corresponded to the secular structure of the state, and since the seals provide evidence of priests performing administrative duties even in small towns or villages, this kind of evidence may help to reconstruct the lower levels of the Sasanian system.<sup>16</sup> However, the Zoroastrian religious organization seems to have disappeared in al-ʿIrāq after the Islamic conquest, so that it is of no help in reconstructing early Islamic conditions.

The use of Christian ecclesiastical structures for these questions presents a different set of advantages and problems. It is possible to reconstruct a fairly detailed picture of Church administration in al-ʿIrāq on the basis of primary sources such as the records of Church synods, letters and biographies. Although the main usefulness of such information lies in the fact that it covers both the late Sasanian and early Islamic periods and ought, therefore, to provide evidence for continuity and change within Church administration, its usefulness for reconstructing the patterns of secular government is open to question. Although the twenty-first canon of the synod held at Ctesiphon in 410 which declares that “the see ought to be honoured according to the greatness of the city itself”<sup>17</sup> suggests that the ecclesiastical structure of the Church was based on the hierarchic provincial organization of the

Sasanian state and paralleled that of the Zoroastrian priesthood, the nature and extent of such correspondence remains controversial. Both Streck<sup>18</sup> and Schaefer<sup>19</sup> have tended to discount such correspondence, based on the discrepancy between the four bishoprics listed for Maysān in the Sasanian period and the four subdistricts of that province listed by Arabic-writing geographers. On the other hand, Fiey<sup>20</sup> has argued in favour of a tendency for episcopal sees to adjust to changes in the secular administration. Apart from the general observation that bishoprics are only likely to be found where there were a significant number of Christians, it ought to be possible to use all of these sources in order to test the theory of ecclesiastical-secular administrative correspondence more rigorously.

Certain natural factors which might tend to influence the shape and extent of administrative units also need to be recognized. In a general way, the ecological difference between the Assyrian highlands and the Babylonian plain has found recurring political expression. Topographical features such as mountains, rivers and deserts exert to a certain extent a constant effect on administrative organization by influencing the possible locations for cultivation and settlement where administrative centres were placed. Although mountains and deserts might impose natural boundaries for administrative units, this is less consistent in the case of rivers. With some specific exceptions in which rivers seem clearly to serve as administrative boundaries, river valleys and especially canals served as the arteries of administration and the centres of districts that amounted to the extent of cultivated land on either side. The officer in charge of such a canal district (*resh nehara*)<sup>21</sup> was responsible for collecting local taxes in Sasanian Babylonia. Consequently, it seems misleading to define administrative units by linear borders, and none have been provided on the maps. The only secure way of knowing the extent of an administrative unit is by noting the places that were included within it. Lastly, since cities served as both secular and religious centres of administration, it is normal to expect the survival or alteration of the Sasanian structure to be related to the survival or replacement of cities, just as one would expect it to be sensitive to changes in the irrigation system. Indeed, Masʿūdī admits that changes in the districts and subdistricts of the Sasanian Sawād that were caused by shifts in the course of the Tigris river were the main exception to his picture of continuity.<sup>22</sup>

The Arabic-writing geographers equate al-ʿIrāq with the Babylonian plan and describe it as the region extending, in length, from Takrīt, or the border of the province of al-Mawṣil, to ʿAbbādān and, in width, from al-Qādisiyya to Ḥulwān. The northwest boundary was considered to be along a line from Anbār to Takrīt,<sup>23</sup> which corresponds roughly to the line below which post-Miocene subsidence resulted in the continuing build-up of deposits.<sup>24</sup> The natural boundary on the southwest was the desert of northern Arabia, and on the northwest the Zagros mountains. This region and the coterminous province was also called the Sawād, the dark or cultivated land of lower Mesopotamia.<sup>25</sup>

The Sawād corresponds to the province called Asōristān in the early Sasanian period and remembered as Sūristān in Arabic literature. According to Ibn Rustah, who identified it with the Sawād, Sūristān extended from the village of al-ʿAlth in the subdistrict of Buzurjsābūr and the village of Ḥarba in Maskin on the east and west banks of the Tigris at the edge of the territory of Athūr (al-Mawṣil), to the end of the district of Bahmān Ardashīr in the territory of al-Furāt near al-Baṣra and from Hulwān to the edge of the desert at al-ʿUdhayb.<sup>26</sup> The Sasanians also called it Dil-i Irānshahr (“the heart of Iran”) to signify the central importance of this province in their state.<sup>27</sup>

In western literature, this region and province was called Assyria in late antiquity and, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, it included both the region around Seleucia and the territory of Mesene.<sup>28</sup> In native Christian literature it was called Bēth Aramāyē in Syriac and Balad an-Nabat in Arabic. The lands (*ethrē*) of Kashkar<sup>29</sup> and of Behqawad,<sup>30</sup> and the towns of Hīth,<sup>31</sup> ʿAqōlē (al-Kūfa), and Ḥirtā<sup>32</sup> were all considered to be in Bēth Aramāyē. As a province, Bēth Aramāyē was governed by a *marzban* under Shāpūr II (309-79),<sup>33</sup> under Yazdagerd I (399-421),<sup>34</sup> in 485 and 496 A.D.,<sup>35</sup> and at some time before 525 A.D.<sup>36</sup> This circumstance may lie behind Dīnawarī’s anachronous use of the title *Iṣpahbad* of the Sawād, when referring to events in the reign of Bahrām V (421-38),<sup>37</sup> and the reference to a *ṣpāhbadh* of the Sawād in the reign of Qubādh I (487-98, 501-31).<sup>38</sup> Syriac-writing authors continued to use Bēth Aramāyē as a regional designation in the Islamic period, and it is significant that the unification of the territories of al-Basra and al-Kūfa, first under Ziyād ibn Abīhi and then under al-Ḥajjāj, was expressed by calling them both *amīrs* of Bēth Aramāyē.<sup>39</sup> But it is equally significant, in

order to appreciate the nature of this anachronism, to remember that the authority of both governors extended far beyond al-ʿIrāq.

Although it would seem that the administrative division of Sasanian Mesopotamia into Asōristān, Adiabene and Arbāyestān<sup>40</sup> in the third and fourth centuries lasted until the fifth century, there was no administrative unit corresponding to later definitions of the Sawād in the sixth and early seventh centuries. It is worth noticing that the Church province of Bēth Aramayē dependent on the patriarchal see at al-Madāʾin, which is mentioned in the synod of 485 and defined in the synod of 544, included the bishoprics of Fīrūz Shāpūr (al-Anbār), az-Zawābī, Hīra, Bēth Dārāyē (Bādarāyā), Kashkar and possibly ʿTirhān, but did not include Mayshan,<sup>41</sup> and therefore corresponds to no known sixth century Sasanian secular administrative division. We should also note that in the sixth century Procopius appears to locate the territory or land of Assyria (*Assurias choria*) to the east of the Tigris, where Ctesiphon and Seleucia were, and where Khusraw Anūshirwān built New Antioch.<sup>42</sup>

In the late Sasanian period, Asōristān/Bēth Aramayē was no longer organized as a single separate province equivalent to the Sawād, but its subdivisions were included in a larger unit called the quarter of the West (*Khvarvarān*), following the administrative reform carried out under Khusraw Anūshirwān (531–79) in which the Sasanian state was divided into four quarters oriented to the points of the compass.<sup>43</sup> Each quarter had a military governor called a *špāhbadh* or *ispābadh*, who had a *pādhghōspān* as his lieutenant. Under Khusraw Parvīz (590–628), Shahrbarāz was the *ispāhbadh* of the quarter of the West<sup>44</sup> and Shāhīn was his *pādhghōspān*.<sup>45</sup> It is also possible that there was a separate official in charge of the financial administration of the quarter of the West under Khusraw Parvīz. The Persian Christian nobleman Yazdīn appears to have held such a position, although the literature has tended to present him as the finance administrator of the entire empire.<sup>46</sup> The oldest of the minor Syriac chronicles says only that Yazdīn supplied Khusraw Parvīz with one hundred staters every day.<sup>47</sup> The only basis for making Yazdīn the finance administrator for the entire empire is a passage in Ṭabarī<sup>48</sup> which says that he collected the tithes of distant regions for Kīsrā, which Nöldeke translated as “Director der Grundsteuer des ganzen Landes” although he gave the literal meaning in a footnote.<sup>49</sup> This passage is sufficiently vague to bear several different interpretations, and everything that is known about Yazdīn’s activity locates him in al-ʿIrāq collecting and delivering cash to the monarch. If Ṭabarī’s reference to the collection of tithes is reliable, Nöldeke’s explanation of it as the land tax is false, because this was after the introduction of the *misāha* system, although it might refer to the taxes on crown lands that remained under the *muqāsama* system. Yazdīn might then appear to have been an official in charge of crown property. The only description of Yazdīn’s jurisdiction is given in the late Chronicle of Siʿirt which says that he was put in charge of many districts (*ʿmāl*) of Bilād an-Nabaṭ and al-Jabal, and from Bēth Garmē to the Byzantine border, and that he was succeeded in these territories by Yūḥannā of Kaskar up to the death of Khusraw Parvīz.<sup>50</sup> This description of his jurisdiction corresponds closely with the quarter of the West, and suggests that part of al-Jabal may have been included in it.

Essentially, the Sasanian quarter of the West included as much of the Tigris-Euphrates valley above Maysān as was under Persian control plus western Media (al-Jabal). The difficulty in determining how much of the organization of this larger unit was preserved under Islamic rule lies in the existence of two layers in the system, one imposed on the other, in the late Sasanian period. The first layer was produced at the time of the quartering of the empire in the sixth century and involved the creation or reorganization of the districts called *kuwar* (sing. *kūra*) and their subdivisions called *tasāstj* (sing. *tassūj*) which began under Qubādī I.<sup>51</sup> Since these administrative divisions were in use under the ʿAbbāsī régime, the Arabic-writing geographers and those who use them generally assume that this system was adopted directly by the Muslims at the time of the conquest. However, Khusraw Parvīz is said to have reorganized the entire empire into some thirty-five administrative districts in the early seventh century.<sup>52</sup> At that time, the old subdivisions of the quarter of the West were apparently collected into six or seven main divisions within the new system: one around Našībīn; one north and east of the upper Tigris; one east of the middle Tigris; one between the middle Tigris and the middle Euphrates; one between the lower Tigris and the lower Euphrates; one along the lower Tigris; and a frontier district southwest of the middle Euphrates around Hīra (see Fig. 1). Supporting evidence will be offered in each case, but there are two schematic descriptions of the late Sasanian provincial system

which lead to this conclusion. Although neither of them is entirely consistent or reliable, or possibly even complete, they seem to have been based on official lists and provide a useful starting point. The older of the two lists appears in the Armenian Geography (*Ashxarhac'oyc'*) and belongs to the period between 591 and the reorganization by Khusraw Parvīz, so that it ought to reflect the reforms of the sixth century. The provinces in the quarter of the West that are given in this list are probably best reconstructed as May (Māh = Media), Masptan (Māsabadhān), Mihrank'atak (Mihrajānqadhaq), K'arshakr (Kaskar), Garmakan, Eran-asan-k'art-Kavat, and Not-Artashirakan.<sup>53</sup> Although the location of Eran-asan-k'art-Kavat ("Qubādh, has put Irān at ease") cannot be identified otherwise, by

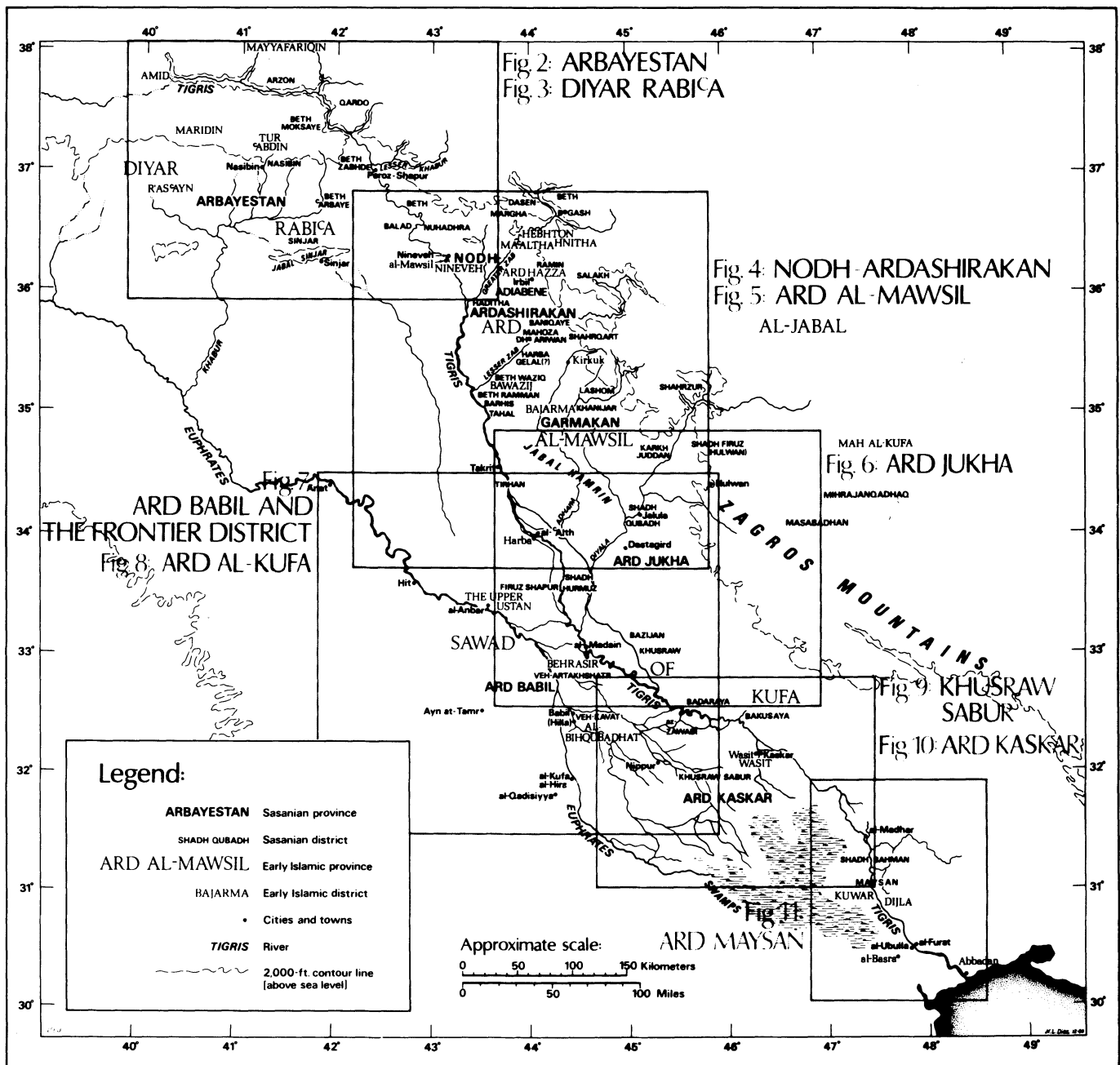


Fig. 1. Sasanian quarter of the West.

a process of elimination it is most likely to have been that part of al-ʿIrāq that is not occupied by the other provinces. Perhaps it was the general designation for the group of districts created by Qubādh before the formation of the quarter of the West: Vēh-Kavāt in the centre of the Sawād, Shādh Qubādh around Fīrūz Shāpur (al-Anbār) and the district also called Shādh Qubādh east of the Tigris between al-Madāʿin and Hulwān.<sup>54</sup> This list also appears in a later abridged and amended form of the Armenian Geography which probably dates from shortly after the Islamic conquest. In this form, in which the quarter of the West has been conflated with Khūzistān, the provinces are listed as Mazh, Maspan, Mihrankʿrtak, Kʿashkar, Garmakan, Eran-astan (*sic*)-kart-Kavat, Not-Artashirakan, Marjin and Srhēn.<sup>55</sup> It should be noted at this point that both forms of this list include western Media and Kaskar in the quarter of the West and put Maysān in the quarter of the South.<sup>56</sup>

The second description is contained in the Middle Persian catalogue of the provincial capitals of Iran, the *Shatrōihā-i Ērānshahr*, which lists Ctesiphon, (Na)sibīn (Urhā (Edessa), Bābil, Hīra, Mawsil and cities in western Media such as Hamadān, Nihāvand, Behistūn, Dīnawar, and Masruqān as the capitals of the provinces in the quarter of the West.<sup>57</sup> Although the present form of this text is not earlier than the reign of al-Manṣūr (138–58/754–75), the inclusion of Edessa, which the Persians only ruled between 610 and 628, and a reference to cities built in Syria, Yaman and Africa by the Persian and Byzantine rulers gives this catalogue the appearance of reflecting conditions of the early seventh century, when the conquests of Khusraw Parvīz extended the quarter of the West into the Jazīra, Syria and Egypt. It is possible that these circumstances or the literary tradition derived from them is reflected by Ibn Rustah, who places the Jazīra and Syria among the divisions of Īrānshahr, along with al-Mawṣil and Sūristān.<sup>58</sup>

Internally, the administrative organization of the late Sasanian empire amounted to a pyramidal system in which each quarter of the state was divided into provinces, each province was divided into districts and each district into subdistricts. In general, the term *ustān* (Middle Persian *ōstān*) was used as a suffix to form the name of any major province (eg. Sūristān), although it might also be used for smaller administrative units in certain contexts. Each province was divided into districts called *shahrs*, each with its district capital or *shahristān* and governed by a *shahrīg* or *rādh*. In Sasanian al-ʿIrāq, the term used as the equivalent of *shahr* was *kūra* (pl. *kuwar*) which is derived from the Greek *chōra* and had been introduced into al-ʿIrāq in the Seleucid period. One of the problems in reconstructing this system lies in the tendency to confuse the district of the capital of a province with the province itself.<sup>59</sup>

At the lowest level, each *shahr* or *kūra* was divided into subdistricts around small towns or villages. Such a subdivision was called a *tasōk* in Middle Persian and a *tassūj* (pl. *tasāsīj*) in Arabic,<sup>60</sup> was sometimes equivalent to a *rustāq* (pl. *rasātīq*),<sup>61</sup> and in lower al-ʿIrāq might correspond to a canal district.<sup>62</sup> *Nāhiya* was also used for this type of unit in some contexts, although sometimes the presence of a further subdivision at the village level was recognized by using any of these terms as the subdivision of one of the others.<sup>63</sup> Under the Sasanians, such a subdistrict was administered by a *dēhīg*, called a *dihqān* (pl. *dahāqīn*) in Arabic.<sup>64</sup> Subdistricts and, occasionally, districts, were also called *ʿmāl* when they served as units of fiscal administration for the collection of taxes.

## II. ARBAYESTĀN

The province of Arbayestān or Bēth ʿArbāyē, which lay to the southwest of the upper Tigris, had been reconstituted by Shāpūr II in 363 and consisted of territory recently conquered from the Byzantines (see Fig. 2).<sup>65</sup> With its southern limit formed by the Jabal Sinjār, it stretched westward to the frontier city and provincial capital of Naṣībīn on the Byzantine border. However, the configuration of the Christian metropolitanate of Naṣībīn in 410 consisted of only the westernmost part of this region plus the districts of Ārzōn, Qardō, Bēth Zabhdē and Bēth Mōksayē along the Tigris northeast of Naṣībīn.<sup>66</sup> There is clear evidence for the authority of the metropolitan at Naṣībīn over the bishop of Balad only from the very end of the Sasanian period,<sup>67</sup> and for the inclusion of the Tigris districts in the secular province only from the Islamic period, although there is a general reference to the districts (*ʿmāl*) of this province for the time of Shīrōē (Qubādh II, 628–9).<sup>68</sup>

This province, with Naṣībīn as its capital, survived the Muslim conquest fairly intact and became

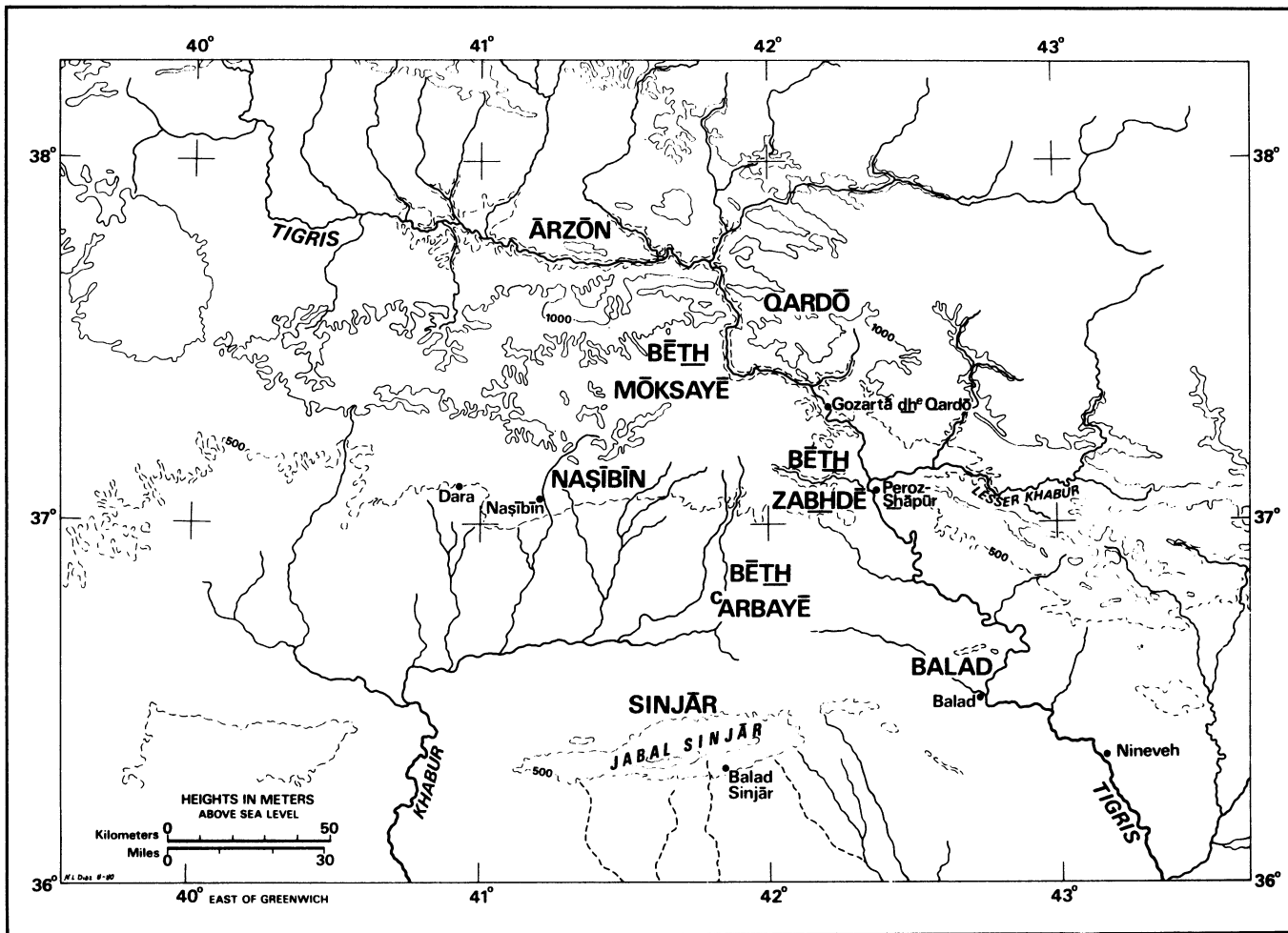


Fig. 2. Arbayaṣṭān.

the basis for the region and administrative unit called Diyār Rabīʿa by the Arabs (see Fig. 3).<sup>69</sup> During the conquest, this province was subject to invasion from two directions. In 17/638 a force under ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿItbān went up the Tigris to [the province of] al-Mawṣil, crossed the river to Balad and went as far as Našībīn, which was taken peacefully and granted the same terms as the people of Raqqa in Byzantine Mesopotamia.<sup>70</sup> A year or two later, in 18 or 19/639-40, ʿIyād ibn Ghanm, who was then in the process of reducing the cities of Byzantine Mesopotamia, sent a force under Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī which occupied the province of Našībīn. Sinjār was garrisoned by Muslim troops, and ʿIyād himself is said to have conquered Balad and to have reached the site of al-Mawṣil where he took one of the two fortresses (surely the one on the right bank of the Tigris). The settlement which the Muslims had made in Byzantine Mesopotamia was then extended to the province of Našībīn, where *kharāj* was imposed on the lands and on the necks of the inhabitants and a poll tax of four, five, or six *dīnārs* apiece was levied in Byzantine gold coins.<sup>71</sup> Since the Muslim army under ʿIyād ibn Ghanm which conquered this province had come from the direction of Byzantine Mesopotamia, Našībīn and its districts were henceforth united administratively with the Jazīra and were no longer organized as part of al-ʿIrāq.<sup>72</sup>

Although this state of affairs was obviously brought about by the Muslim conquest, there is a tendency in the Arabic-writing geographers and in some of the historians to project the inclusion of the province of Našībīn in the territory of al-Jazīra back to the time immediately before the conquest. This province is described as belonging to the Byzantines at the time of the conquest, and is said to

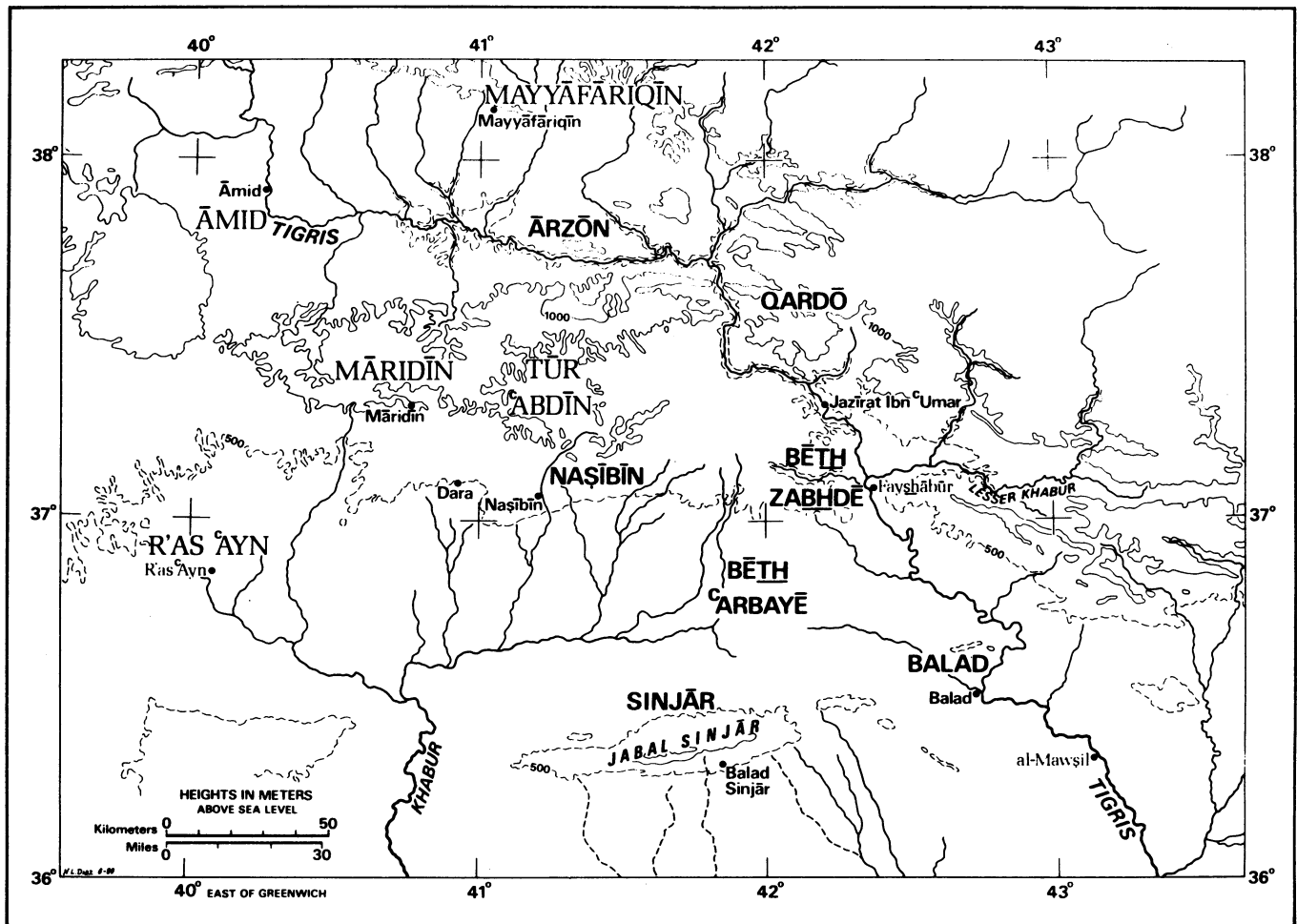


Fig. 3. *Diyār Rabīʿa*.

have been abandoned by Heraclius to the Muslims, along with Syria and Egypt.<sup>73</sup> However, Shahrbarāz had re-established the border between Dārā and Naṣībīn when he made peace with the Byzantines in 630.<sup>74</sup>

The *Diyār Rabīʿa* appears to have served as an administrative division of the *Jazīra* from the time of the Muslim conquest. We are told that during the caliphate of ʿUmar I (13–23/634–44) al-Walīd ibn ʿUqba was the *ʿāmil* of Rabīʿa in the *Jazīra*.<sup>75</sup> As defined by Ibn Khurradādhbih, the districts (*kuwar*) of the *Diyār Rabīʿa* included not only those of Naṣībīn, Arzan, Bāʿarbāyā, Balad, Sinjār, Qardā, Bāzabdā and Tūr ʿAbdīn in former Sasanian territory, but were extended to include Āmid, Ra's ʿAyn, Mayyāfāriqīn and Māridīn in former Byzantine territory.<sup>76</sup> Bēth ʿArbayē/Bāʿarbāyā seems to have been gradually restricted in use to refer to the district in the centre of this province between Naṣībīn and Balad, where there was a rural Arab population. A Monophysite bishopric of Bēth ʿArbayē is attested from the middle of the sixth century until the early ninth century.<sup>77</sup>

As the most important frontier city on the Byzantine border, Naṣībīn was governed by a *marzbān* during the fifth and sixth centuries.<sup>78</sup> Although there appears to have been an *ōstāndār* (administrator of an *ōstān*) at Naṣībīn in the reign of Hurmizd IV (579–90),<sup>79</sup> this city was under a *marzbān* in the 590s.<sup>80</sup> There is also one piece of evidence for the existence of Zoroastrian priestly authorities at Naṣībīn in the fifth century. In 446, a certain Ṭahm-Yazdagerd was the adviser of the Magians (*mōghān andarzbādh*) of Naṣībīn.<sup>81</sup> Naṣībīn survived as the major administrative centre in this part of the *Jazīra* after the Muslim conquest. As early as 644, Naṣībīn was governed by an *amīr*,<sup>82</sup> and during the

caliphate of ʿUthmān (23–35/644–56) the governor (ʿāmil) of Naṣībīn was a subordinate of Muʿāwiya when the latter was governor of Syria.<sup>83</sup> In about 67/686–7, during the second *fitna*, Naṣībīn was governed for the Marwānīs by an *amīr* called Ibn ʿUthmān, and the contemporary account of Yōḥannān bar Penkayē describes how at that time Naṣībīn was a bone of contention between the “westerners” (Syrians) who claimed it had been part of the Roman Empire (as recently as 363) and the “easterners” (ʿIrāqīs) who claimed it on the basis of more recent Persian rule.<sup>84</sup> After the battle at the Khāzīr river in 67/686, Ibrāhīm ibn Mālik al-Ashtar put his brother ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān in charge of Naṣībīn.<sup>85</sup> The local Christian Persian physician called Mardanshāh, who helped Muḥammad ibn Marwān to take Naṣībīn in about 75/694, was rewarded with the administration of this city.<sup>86</sup> Later, there was a post-reform mint at Naṣībīn, attested by a bronze coin struck there in 92/710.<sup>87</sup>

From 410 throughout the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth centuries, and even later, Naṣībīn was the seat of a Christian metropolitanate (later Nestorian).<sup>88</sup> In this case, the location of the metropolitan at least corresponded to that of the secular governor, and this increases the impression of continuity at Naṣībīn as an administrative centre.

The district of Ārzōn lay on both sides of the Tigris river just below the Byzantine border. Although it was among those districts that were returned to the Sasanians in 363,<sup>89</sup> there seems to be no information on its secular administration. However, we hear of the presence of a Zoroastrian priest who supervised the preparation of haoma and was a local religious judge, Ādhōrafrozgerd the *srōshavarzdārigh* of Ārzōn, in 446.<sup>90</sup> It was a Christian bishopric beginning in 410, and was called an *ōstān* in 410, 424, and 554.<sup>91</sup> Although Nestorians held the bishopric of Ārzōn in the reign of Hurmizd IV,<sup>92</sup> there was a Monophysite bishop at Ārzōn in the time of Mārūthā (629–49).<sup>93</sup> There appears to be no reference to either the secular or ecclesiastical administration of Ārzōn for more than a century after the Muslim conquest. Qōbhē dhē Ārzōn may have been a Nestorian bishopric in 174/790,<sup>94</sup> and it has already been noted that Ibn Khurradādhbih listed the *kūra* of Arzan among the districts of the Diyār Rabīʿa.

Qardō (Gordyene) lay along the northeast bank of the Tigris river below Ārzōn as far as the Lesser or Eastern Khābūr river which marked the border with Bēth Nūhādhra. It was governed by a satrap in 359,<sup>95</sup> was a Christian bishopric by 424, and is attested as a Nestorian bishopric in 533, 554 and 605.<sup>96</sup> Although, again, there is no information about its administration in the period immediately following the Muslim conquest, Ibn Ḥawqal calls Qardā a *rustāq*,<sup>97</sup> and Yaqūt describes it as a *kūra* or a large *wilāya* with subdistricts (*aʿmāl*) and about 200 villages lying to east of the Tigris opposite Jazīrat Ibn ʿUmar.<sup>98</sup>

Bēth Zabhdē (Zabdicene, Bāzabdā) faced Qardō on the southwestern bank of the Tigris river. It is attested as a Christian bishopric in 497,<sup>99</sup> and a certain Shāmūnā is said to have been the governor of the *nāhiya* of Bēth Zabhdē for Khusraw Parvīz when Sabhrīshōc I (595–604) was Nestorian catholicos.<sup>100</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal calls Bazabdā a *rustāq*,<sup>101</sup> and Yāqūt calls it a *kūra* in the *nāhiya* of Jazīrat Ibn ʿUmar.<sup>102</sup> Gozartā dhē Qardō, which was later called Jazīrat Ibn ʿUmar, is attested as a Monophysite bishopric in the time of Mārūthā.<sup>103</sup>

The city and district of Balad (modern Eskī-Mawṣil) on the right bank of the Tigris, seven *farāsikh* above al-Mawṣil, was called Shahrābādh by the Persians.<sup>104</sup> In the late Sasanian period it lay in the territory of Naṣībīn,<sup>105</sup> and it was governed by a *marzbān* in the second decade of the seventh century.<sup>106</sup> Balad is first attested as a Christian bishopric in 497, and from the sixth until the eighth century, it is fairly well attested as a Nestorian bishopric.<sup>107</sup> In about 143/760, Mār Qupriānōs the metropolitan of Naṣībīn consecrated Mār Quriāqōs as bishop of Balad.<sup>108</sup> The earliest reference to a Monophysite bishop at Balad is from about 60/680.<sup>109</sup>

Sinjār had been garrisoned by the Persians as a border post in the late Sasanian period.<sup>110</sup> It is attested as a Nestorian bishopric in 533 and in the eighth century,<sup>111</sup> and as a Monophysite bishopric in 8/629.<sup>112</sup> After the battle on the Khāzīr river in 67/687, Ibrāhīm ibn Mālik al-Ashtar appointed as-Saffāḥ ibn Kurdūs as governor of Sinjār,<sup>113</sup> and Ibn Ḥawqal calls it a *rustāq*.<sup>114</sup>

Combining the evidence from secular and ecclesiastical administration, the province of Arbāyestān as it was constituted in the late Sasanian period seems to have been composed of the districts of Naṣībīn, Balad, Sinjār, possibly Bēth ʿArbāyē, and possibly the districts of Ārzōn, Qardō

and Bēth Zabhdē along the Tigris. The evidence for the administration of most of these districts in the early Islamic period is slim indeed, although the same districts appear to exist in the ʿAbbāsī period. The most important change involved the reorientation of the entire province, its attachment to the Jazīra and the inclusion of several districts in it which had formerly been part of Byzantine Mesopotamia.

### III. ARḌ AL-MAWṢIL

The formation of the province called the land (*arḍ*) of al-Mawṣil by the Arabs is much more complicated, and appears to have been the result of a process of consolidation during the Sasanian period. It may have been based on the former primacy of the vassal kingdom of greater Adiabene (Ḥedhayabh) along the upper Tigris river in the Parthian period, when it included the territory called Atūria around Nineveh on both sides of the Tigris.<sup>115</sup> Since Adiabene proper lay east of the Tigris between the Greater and Lesser Zab rivers, it is not always possible to tell whether the references to Adiabene in administrative contexts should be understood in a restricted or expanded sense. The administrative division of Sasanian Mesopotamia into Asōristān, Adiabene and Arbāyestān in the third and fourth centuries, however, would suggest that Adiabene included that part of this region that was not contained in the other two provinces. The description of a certain Denḡa bar Shemraita as the “grand prince of all the region of Adiabene” in the late sixth century seems to signify greater Adiabene.<sup>116</sup> The organization of the Zoroastrian priesthood corresponded to the secular province, with the *magōpat* of Adiabene at Irbil in the third and fourth centuries<sup>117</sup> being in charge of a hierarchy of subordinate priests and judges in unnamed districts (*ethrawathē*).<sup>118</sup> The corresponding Christian metropolitanate of Ḥedhayabh at Irbil is continuously attested from at least the fourth century until the early eighth century, and by the end of the sixth century it was Nestorian.<sup>119</sup> The definition of the metropolitanate of Ḥedhayabh in 410 as having authority over the bishoprics of Bēth Nūhadhrā, Bēth Bēgash, Bēth Dasen, Ramōnīn and Rabarinḡesn<sup>120</sup> suggests that the metropolitanate was normally equivalent to greater Adiabene.

This province was called Norshirakan by the Parthians and Armenians, and 363 it included Mahkert, Nihorakan and Dasen. The Sasanians called this province Nōdh-Ardashīrakan, which was contracted to Norshirakan according to Markwart, or was spun out of it to resemble the name of a Sasanian king according to Maricq. The resemblance was enough to produce stories that Ardashīr I had established it.<sup>121</sup> According to the Arabic sources, this province was equivalent to that of al-Mawṣil and was ruled by an official called the Nūdh-Ardashīrān-shāh,<sup>122</sup> which appears to reflect the situation in the fourth century when Ardashīr, the brother of Shāpūr II, was King of Ḥedhayabh.<sup>123</sup> It is difficult to resist suggesting that it was this Ardashīr whose name is reflected in the official name of this province. Although Not-Artashirakan and Garmekan are listed as separate provinces in the Armenian Geography,<sup>124</sup> the existence of a combined administrative jurisdiction in the late Sasanian period is indicated by a seal inscription of the finance official of Bēth Garmē and Nōdh-Ardashīrakan (*Garmēkan u Nōdh-ardashīrakan amārkar*).<sup>125</sup> This combination seems to have existed as early as 446, when Sūrēn is called the vice-dastvar (*dastvarhamdādh*) of Ḥedhayabh and Bēth Garmē.<sup>126</sup> This formulation suggests that these two provinces had indeed been combined into a single larger jurisdiction nearly co-extensive with Arḍ al-Mawṣil and at the same time tells us that there was no single term for it (see Figs. 4 and 5).

It is questionable whether or not Nōdh-Ardashīrakan should be regarded also as the official name of the capital city of this province. This impression seems to derive from the vague statements in our sources which often use the name of a city to indicate its province when equating it with Nōdh-Ardashīrakan. Our seal inscription suggests that Nōdh-Ardashīrakan was a territorial designation similar to Garmēkan, which is not known to have been used for any city. It remains to be proven that the city of Irbil, for instance, was actually called or replaced by a city called Nōdh-Ardashīrakan,<sup>127</sup> or that this was the pre-Islamic name of the city where al-Mawṣil was founded.<sup>128</sup> Perhaps the name of this province is represented by the mint mark ND on Sasanian coins.<sup>129</sup>

At the end of the Sasanian period, the main administrative centre of Nōdh-Ardashīrakan appears to have been located at the village of Ḥēzā twelve kilometres southwest of Irbil. Although the main

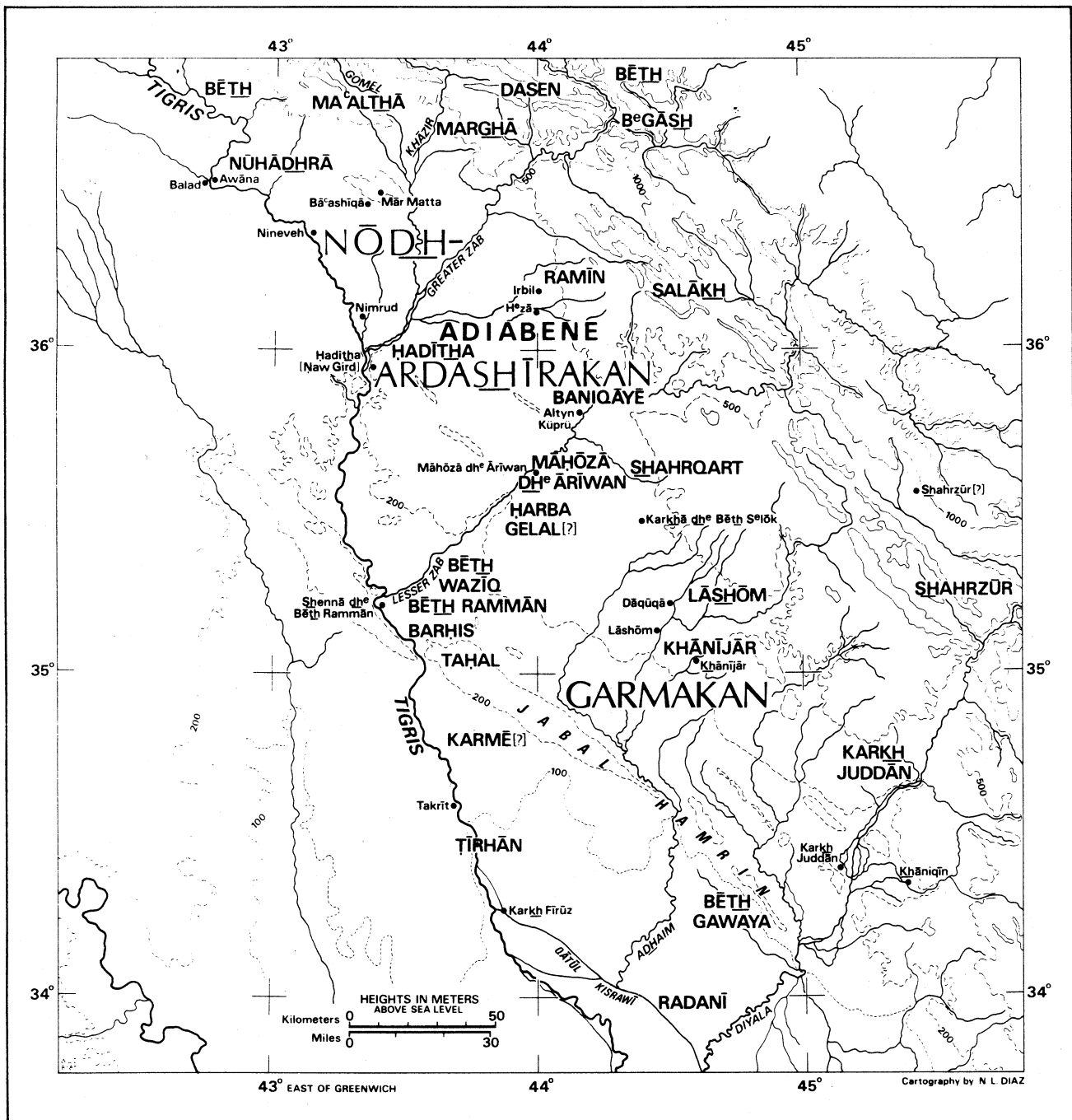
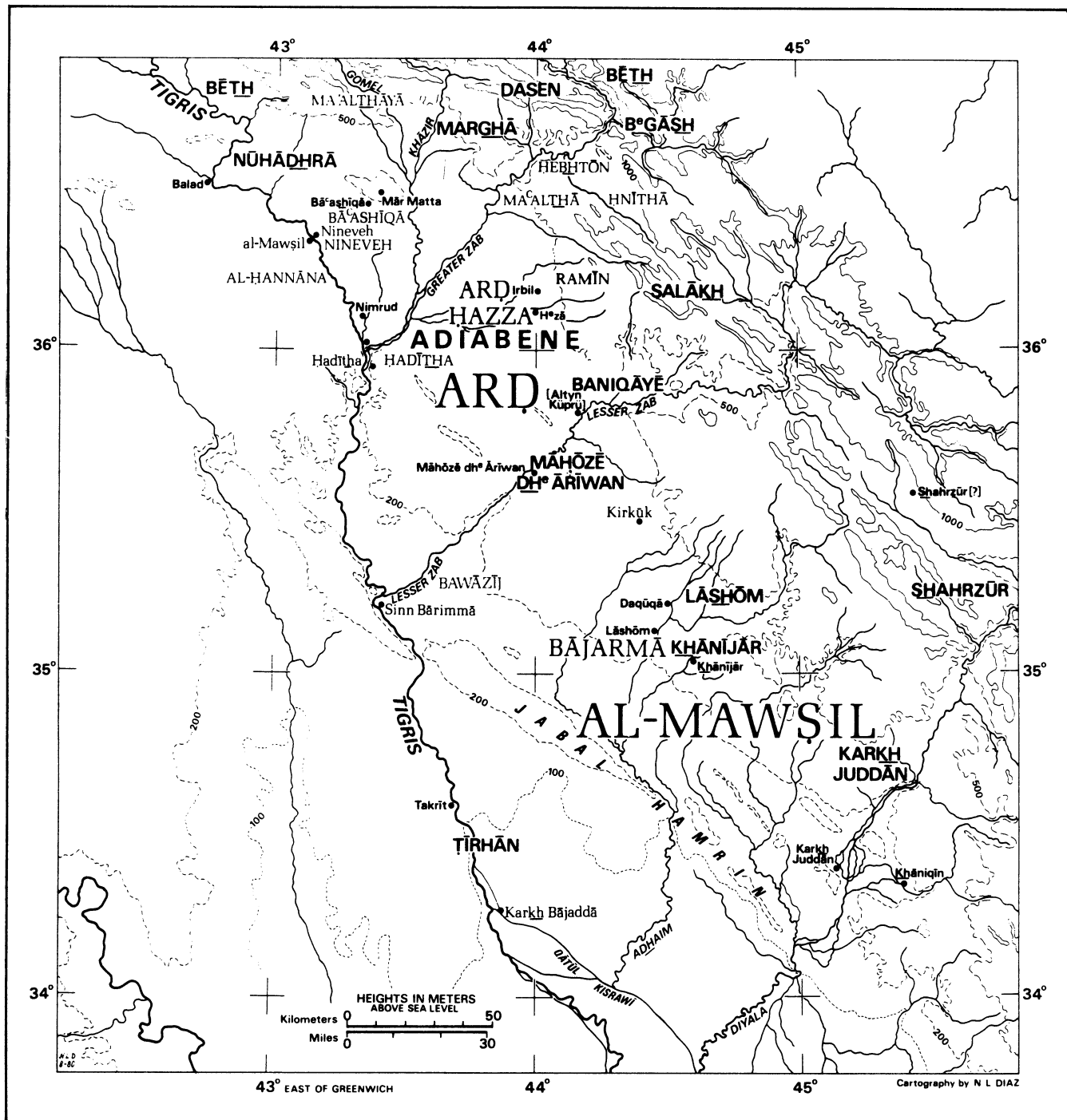


Fig. 4. Nōdh-Ardashīrakan.

prison, the fire temple and probably the *mōhpat* were at Irbil, the leaders of the Magians and the *radh* were at Ḥḫzā in the early seventh century. The *radh* had a judge (*dayyanā*) and soldiers commanded by an *ānbadh* under his authority. This arrangement seems to be that of a satellite military and administrative centre located outside of the main town for greater efficiency, discipline and control. Important officials, such as Yazdīn, also came to Ḥḫzā on royal business.<sup>130</sup> As usual the territory was called after the name of its administrative centre,<sup>131</sup> and the information that Nūd-H-Ardashīr “which is

Fig. 5. *Arḍ al-Mawṣil*

Hazza'' was in al-Mawṣil<sup>132</sup> is best understood as a reference to this territorial subdivision of the province of al-Mawṣil. Ibn Ḥawqal speaks of Arḍ Ḥazza and its *rasāṭiq*.<sup>133</sup>

The only subdivisions of Adiabene proper which seem to have existed in the late Sasanian period with any degree of certainty as administrative districts and to have survived into the Islamic period, are those of Ḥadītha, Bēth Bēgash and Ramīn. The town of Ḥadītha (Syr. Ḥēdhattā) lay on the left bank of

the Tigris just below its confluence with the Greater Zab river and was called Naw Gird by the Sasanians. Its strategic location and reports that it had been the *mišr* or *qaṣaba* of the *kuwar* of al-Mawṣil previously, but had since fallen into ruin,<sup>134</sup> make it a candidate for the location of the late Sasanian capital of Arḍ al-Mawṣil, although it is only described as a village with two churches at the time of the conquest. The old identification of the Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian mint-mark AD with Ḥadītha cannot stand, because that was not the Sasanian name of this town.<sup>135</sup> Ḥadītha was still an important enough place to resist the attack of Maʿqil ibn Qays during the first *fitna*,<sup>136</sup> it was resettled by Arabs from Anbār in the time of al-Ḥajjāj; and it was rebuilt by Marwān II (127-32/744-50).<sup>137</sup> There were governors at Ḥadītha in the early ʿAbbāsī period.<sup>138</sup> This rather shadowy reputation is supplemented by the Nestorian bishopric of Ḥadītha, which was only created in the late sixth century in order to combat local Monophysite influences, and was under the authority of the metropolitan of Adiabene.<sup>139</sup> This may be the same as the Nestorian bishopric of Ḥḏhattā mʿdītā which is mentioned around the middle of the seventh century.<sup>140</sup> Bishops of Ḥadītha are not mentioned again until the early second/eighth century in the time of catholicos Pethiōn (113-22/731-40) and his successors. By the late second/eighth century, the diocese of Ḥadītha was independent of the diocese of Adiabene (but subordinate to the metropolitan of al-Mawṣil).<sup>141</sup> Taken altogether, these indications would suggest that Ḥadītha was newly important in the late Sasanian period, that it did in fact decline by the later first/seventh century and that it was restored as a district of al-Mawṣil in the course of the second/eighth century, when the local bishopric does appear to correspond to the governorship.

Bēth Bʿgash lay on the left bank of the upper course of the Greater Zab in northeastern Adiabene, and is attested as a Christian bishopric (Nestorian by the late sixth century) from 410 until the seventh/thirteenth century with a break between 605 and the early eighth century.<sup>142</sup> The district of Ramīn on the mountain of Adiabene is probably to be identified with the bishopric of Ramōnīn which is mentioned in 410,<sup>143</sup> with the *rōstakā* of Ramīnīs, which is mentioned in the late sixth century,<sup>144</sup> with the orthography of “Dāmīr” in Balādhurī’s list of the territories conquered by ʿUtba ibn Farqad in 20/641,<sup>145</sup> and with the Ramīn mentioned by Ibn Khurradādhbih as a *kūra* of al-Mawṣil.<sup>146</sup> There is no secure evidence for the ecclesiastical administration of the districts along the Greater Zab below Bēth Bʿgash before the early second/eighth century. Both Maʿalthā on the Zab (al-Maʿalla) and Ḥebhtōn are included in the list of territories conquered by ʿUtba ibn Farqad. In the early second/eighth century, the Nestorian bishopric of Maʿalthā was combined with that of Ḥnīthā to the east of Ḥebhtōn.<sup>147</sup> These bishoprics were separated after 102/720, but in 174/790 Ḥnīthā and Ḥebhtōn formed a combined bishopric.<sup>148</sup> Masʿūdī speaks of *arḍ* Ḥiftūn on the Greater Zab.<sup>149</sup>

Obviously, ecclesiastical administration fails to reveal very much about the internal government of Adiabene proper in this period. There is a glaring gap between the early seventh century and the early second/eighth century, and the emergence of the districts along the Greater Zab as bishoprics in the Islamic period probably only reflects the spread of Christianity there. It is difficult to believe that Adiabene was so solidly or uniformly Christian in this period that church administration extended to all inhabited parts of this province. It certainly does not account for the non-Christian parts of Adiabene, and there are districts such as Baniqāyē on the Lesser Zab and Salākh in eastern Adiabene that are likely to have been administrative districts but do not turn up in church administration until the second/eighth century.<sup>150</sup> The same applies to Bānaʿāthā of Ḥazza which was conquered by ʿUtba ibn Farqad.<sup>151</sup>

Although greater Adiabene included the region called Atūria or Āthōr around Nineveh on both sides of the Tigris, there are traces of the use of Āthōr as the equivalent of greater Adiabene in the Sasanian period.<sup>152</sup> Legendary references to kings of Āthōr in the fourth century may reflect the contemporary Sasanian title of King of Hedhayabh while using a later, expanded meaning of Āthōr.<sup>153</sup> Of more significance is the description of Mar Ḥḏnanā as metropolitan of the Āthōrayē in the acts of the synod of 585.<sup>154</sup>

Nineveh appears to have been a local centre of some importance at the end of the Sasanian period, with fortresses on both sides of the Tigris. When ʿUtba ibn Farqad came to Nineveh in 20/641, the people there resisted him, so he took the eastern fortress by force.<sup>155</sup> Nineveh appears to have been replaced as even a local administrative centre immediately after the conquest with the foundation of

al-Mawṣil across the Tigris, and Ibn Ḥawqal describes it as a *rustāq* of al-Mawṣil.<sup>156</sup> Nineveh is well-attested as a Nestorian bishopric subordinate to the metropolitanate of Adiabene beginning in 554 until the early third/ninth century, when this bishopric merged with that of al-Mawṣil,<sup>157</sup> Mar Ammeh of Ārṣōn, who was Nestorian bishop of Nineveh from 16/637 until 23/644 or 26/647, is said to have assisted the Muslims at the time of the conquest.<sup>158</sup> Monophysite bishops of the monastery of Mar Matta and Nineveh (later al-Mawṣil) are attested from 544 until the early third/ninth century.<sup>159</sup> Bā<sup>c</sup>ashīqā, east of the Tigris above Nineveh, and al-Ḥannāna, west of the Tigris, appear to have been subdistricts of Nineveh at the time of the conquest that became subdistricts of the capital district of al-Mawṣil afterwards.<sup>160</sup>

Above Nineveh, the district of Bēth Nūhadhrā extended along the east bank of the Tigris river from Āwānā opposite Balad to Dayr az-Za<sup>c</sup>farān on the Jabal Jūdī.<sup>161</sup> The territory (*ēthrā*) of Bēth Nūhadhrā is mentioned in the context of an event in the time of Shāpūr II,<sup>162</sup> and the city of Peroz-Shāpūr in Bēth Nūhadhrā, on the east bank of the Tigris below its confluence with the Lesser Khābūr and identified as the modern village of Peshābūr,<sup>163</sup> was probably founded by that Sasanian monarch as its capital (see Fig. 2). Although nothing is known of its administration in the Sasanian period, its importance appears to be indicated by the impressive ruins noticed by Arabic writers, and Ibn Ḥawqal calls Fayshābūr a *rustāq*.<sup>164</sup> At some time in the Islamic period Fayshābūr came to be considered part of Qardā.<sup>165</sup> Both *ard* Bāhudhrā and Bā<sup>c</sup>adhrā are included in Balādhurī's list of territories that were conquered by ʿUtba ibn Farqad in 20/641,<sup>166</sup> and Ibn Ḥawqal calls Bāhudhrā a *rustāq* distinct from that of Fayshābūr.<sup>167</sup> Bēth Nūhadhrā is also sporadically attested as a Nestorian bishopric from the fifth century, with a break between about 19/640 and the late first/seventh century, until the late second/eighth century.<sup>168</sup> Much of Bēth Nūhadhrā went Monophysite in the late sixth and early seventh centuries, and by the end of the sixth century it was a Monophysite bishopric, although it does not appear to be attested as such between 8/629 and the second/eighth century.<sup>169</sup> Because the formation of a Monophysite enclave in Bēth Nūhadhrā isolated the subdistrict of Bēth Rustāqa from Nineveh, the Nestorians transferred it from Bēth Nūhadhrā to neighbouring Marghā in the late second/eighth century.<sup>170</sup>

The subdistrict of Ma<sup>c</sup>althā (Arabic Ma<sup>c</sup>althāyā) north of Bēth Nūhadhrā is attested as a bishopric from the fifth until the seventh/thirteenth century, with separate Nestorian and Monophysite successions from the late sixth century.<sup>171</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal calls it a *rustāq*.<sup>172</sup>

Marghā, located above the Greater Zab and northeast of Bēth Nūhadhrā, was probably under the authority of the governor of Adiabene in the 620s, because a Christian of Marghā who was arrested was imprisoned in Irbil.<sup>173</sup> Al-Marj and its villages were conquered by ʿUtba ibn Farqad in 20/641,<sup>174</sup> and in spite of the Christian presence there, it is only mentioned as a Nestorian bishopric for the first time in 174/790.<sup>175</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal describes al-Marj as a *rustāq* of al-Mawṣil across the Greater Zab from Ḥazza.<sup>176</sup> The subdistrict of Gōmal in Marghā appears briefly as a Monophysite bishopric in 8/629.<sup>177</sup> Dasen, on the right bank of the Greater Zab above Marghā, and regarded as part of Norshirakan in 363,<sup>178</sup> marked the northern limit of this administrative region. The Christian bishopric (Nestorian by the later sixth century) of Dasen is attested from the early fifth until the seventh/thirteenth century.<sup>179</sup>

The district of Garmakan or Bēth Garmē, which lay between the Lesser Zāb and the Diyāla rivers and above the Jabal Ḥamrīn,<sup>180</sup> had been combined with or subordinated to Adiabene in the late Sasanian period, as we have already seen. Apart from an enigmatic reference to a governor of Bēth Garmē in the legend of Mar Ezechiel,<sup>181</sup> we hear of a governor (*ʿāmil*) of Bājarmā at the end of the sixth century.<sup>182</sup> During the conquest, ʿUtba ibn Farqad is said to have raided across the *kūra* of Bājarmā from Takrīt to Shahrzūr and shortly afterwards, when Sabhrīshō<sup>c</sup> was metropolitan of Bājarmā in the catholicate of Mar Ammeh (23–6/644–7), a certain ʿUtba was governor (*wālī*) of Bājarmā.<sup>183</sup> The capital of this district was the city of Karkhā dh<sup>e</sup> Bēth Sēlōk (Kirkūk) where there was a *radh* in 558–9<sup>184</sup> and a *mōbadh*.<sup>185</sup>

Although the Christian bishop of Karkhā was the metropolitan of Bēth Garmē, this see differed from the corresponding secular jurisdiction in at least two ways in the late Sasanian period: it may have included territory below the Jabal Ḥamrīn, and, more importantly, it remained independent of the metropolitan of Adiabene. As defined in 410, the metropolitanate of Bēth Garmē included the

bishoprics of Sharqart, Lashōm, Arīwan, Radanī and Ḥarbagelal.<sup>186</sup> Nestorian bishops of Karkhā dh<sup>c</sup> Bēth S<sup>c</sup>lōk and metropolitans of Bēth Garmē are well attested in the late Sasanian period,<sup>187</sup> and the metropolitanate survived until the early eighth/fourteenth century<sup>188</sup> without ever being subordinated to that of al-Mawṣil.

The relationship of ecclesiastical to secular subdistricts in Bēth Garmē raises the same kind of problems encountered in Adiabene. Our information is essentially provided by ecclesiastical administration, and we cannot be certain that important non-Christian administrative centres have not been overlooked. The bishopric of Lāshōm, for instance, which is attested from the early fourth century until the end of the sixth century, and again in the later second/eighth century<sup>189</sup> may have been in a tandem or satellite arrangement with a possible secular centre at Dāqūqā (modern Tā'ūk) twelve kilometres to the northeast.<sup>190</sup> Khānījār may also have been a Sasanian and early Islamic administrative centre because it is mentioned as having been conquered by Hāshim ibn <sup>c</sup>Utba<sup>191</sup> and because the legend of Mar Ezechiel mentions a Zoroastrian priest called Zārūn there in the second half of the first/seventh century.<sup>192</sup> Maḥōzē dh<sup>c</sup> Ārīwan, located below the Lesser Zab midway between its confluence with the Tigris and Altyn Köprü, also appears to have been the centre of an administrative district.<sup>193</sup> Tell Māḥūz, 65 kilometres from Kirkūk, is the site of a large city, the occupation of which has been dated to the third and fourth centuries on the basis of coins and burials.<sup>194</sup> Maḥōzē dh<sup>c</sup> Ārīwan is attested as a Christian (later Nestorian) bishopric from 410 until the mid-first/seventh century, when it was replaced by or transferred to Bawāzīj.<sup>195</sup> The city of Maḥōzē dh<sup>c</sup> Ārīwan is said to have been destroyed in 182/798.<sup>196</sup> The *madīna* of Khōnī-Shāpūr, which Shāpūr II is said to have founded as a *kūra* in Bājarmā,<sup>197</sup> is usually identified as the Nestorian episcopal see of Bēth Wazīq (Bawāzīj), which appears in northwest Bājarmā in about the middle of the first/seventh century.<sup>198</sup> Bawāzīj and Bēth Rammān had already become a combined Monophysite bishopric in the early seventh century,<sup>199</sup> and the capital of this district, Shennā dh<sup>c</sup> Bēth Rammān (Sinn Bārimmā), is attested as a Nestorian bishopric from 576 until the early first century/second quarter of the seventh century and again in the second/eighth century.<sup>200</sup> The Nestorian bishoprics of Taḥal<sup>201</sup> and Barhis<sup>202</sup> are probably also to be located in northwestern Bājarmā, but are only attested in the late Sasanian period. The bishopric (later Nestorian) of Ḥarbagelal, which was probably below the Lesser Zab although its exact location is unknown, is well attested in the late Sasanian period, but disappears after 605.<sup>203</sup> Shahrqart, north of Dāqūqā in the neighbourhood of Kirkūk, is also attested as a Nestorian bishopric in the late Sasanian period, but disappeared after 605.<sup>205</sup> The town and territory of Karkh Juddān near the border with Khāniqīn and Shahrzūr in southeastern Bājarmā is described as an administrative district (*amāl*) in the early seventh century.<sup>205</sup> This town was also the residence of the Nestorian catholicos Īshō'yahbh II (7–22/628–43) and his successor Mar Ammeh following the Muslim conquest.<sup>206</sup> Sometime in the Islamic period, Karkh Juddān was transferred from Bājarmā to al-<sup>c</sup>Irāq province because Yāqūt describes it as a district (*bulaid*) at the edge of the province of al-<sup>c</sup>Irāq neighbouring Khāniqīn and on the border between al-<sup>c</sup>Irāq and Shahrzūr.<sup>207</sup> Shahrzūr itself, which was on the border of al-Jabal, appears to have been considered to be part of Bēth Garmē in this period. There was a *radh* at Shahrzūr in 605, and Nestorian bishops are attested there from the middle of the sixth century until the end of the fourth/tenth century, with a break shortly after the Muslim conquest until the late second/eighth century.<sup>208</sup> Shahrzūr is also attested as a Monophysite bishopric in 8/629 and 184/800.<sup>209</sup> The *rōstaqā* of Bēth Gawaya lay in southern Bēth Garmē between Tūz Hurmatli and the Diyala river in the early seventh century,<sup>210</sup> and a *rōstaqā* called Bēth M<sup>c</sup>shaynanē is mentioned on the Lesser Zab in the late second/eighth century.<sup>211</sup>

The district of Tīrhān on both sides of the Tigris below Sinn, with its capital at Takrīt, appears to have been formed from the remnant of the kingdom of Hatra west of the Tigris and the southwestern portion of Bēth Garmē east of the river below the Jabal Ḥamrīn.<sup>212</sup> In the early 630s, the governor of Takrīt was a certain Abraham bar Īshō<sup>c</sup>,<sup>213</sup> but at the time of the conquest in 16/637, Takrīt was defended by forces from “al-Mawṣil” led by a general called Anṭaq,<sup>214</sup> which suggests that Takrīt was considered part of the late Sasanian province of “al-Mawṣil”, unless this is an anachronistic projection of later conditions. <sup>c</sup>Abdallāh ibn Mu<sup>c</sup>tamm, who conquered Takrīt in 16/637, was put in charge of the war and *kharāj* of as much of the province of “al-Mawṣil” as had been occupied up to that time,

while ʿArfaja ibn Harthama was put in charge of the *kharāj* of Takrīt. When ʿAbdallāh retired to al-Kūfa in the following year, he left Muslim ibn ʿAbdallāh as his lieutenant over “al-Mawṣil”,<sup>215</sup> This reconstruction is complicated, however, by the confusion in the Arabic accounts which associate ʿUtba ibn Farqad with the campaign against Takrīt and the conquest of ʿTīrhān in 16/637, and consequently tend to put the conquest of the entire province of al-Mawṣil as early as 16/637.<sup>216</sup> There is no reason to believe that Takrīt was conquered a second time by ʿUtba ibn Farqad. The administrative subordination of Takrīt to al-Mawṣil is definitely indicated by the fact that, when al-Muhallab was governor of al-Mawṣil in 68/687, he had an *ʿāmil* at Takrīt.<sup>217</sup>

Takrīt was also a Monophysite metropolitanate from 559, and this was elevated in 629 to authority over the entire Monophysite Church in the east. An unbroken succession of Monophysite metropolitans (later called *maphrian*) extends through the first/seventh century at Takrīt, when this town was clearly more important in the Monophysite Church than it was in secular administration.<sup>218</sup> The Nestorian bishopric of ʿTīrhān (or ʿTīrhan), which is attested from the mid-sixth until the late second/eighth century, was probably east of the Tigris opposite Takrīt and subordinate to the metropolitan of Bēth Garmē.<sup>219</sup> There was also a Monophysite bishopric of ʿTīrhān in 629.<sup>220</sup> The bishopric of Karmē, which is attested in 486, 497 and 554, may have been in or near ʿTīrhān and may have become the Monophysite bishopric of Karmeh, which is attested in 629.<sup>221</sup> The fort of Karkh Bājaddā, called Karkh Fīrūz after a purported “king” Fīrūz ibn Balāsh ibn Qubādh, below Takrīt at the site of Sāmarrā, should also be noted because it was located at the head of the canal called the Qātūl Kisrawī, and is likely to have been some kind of Sasanian military or administrative centre.<sup>222</sup>

All of these districts of Arḍ al-Mawṣil continued to be organized together with al-ʿIrāq immediately after the Muslim conquest, because they were occupied by Muslim forces coming from that direction. Their conquest was accomplished in two campaigns. The first, as we have seen, was that of ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Muʿtamm, who moved up the Tigris in 16/637 to cover the left flank of the Muslim vanguard commanded by Hāshim ibn ʿUtba, which was pursuing the Persians eastwards from al-Madāʾin, and took the town of Takrīt. At the same time, forces under Hāshim ibn ʿUtba moved through southern Bājmā as far as Khānījār. The following year, ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿItbān raided up the Tigris to (the province of) al-Mawṣil, crossed over to Balad and reached Naṣībīn.<sup>223</sup> The second campaign was that of ʿUtba ibn Farqad in 20/641, who raided across Bājmā, took the eastern fortress at Nineveh, crossed the Tigris, took the “opposite fortress” (Ḥesnā ʿEbhrayā, *ḥiṣn al-akar*) on terms that allowed the people there to make peace in return for paying tribute (*jizya*) and permitted those so wishing to leave,<sup>224</sup> founded the town of al-Mawṣil at the site of some Sasanian gardens and conquered the districts of al-Marj, arḍ Bāhudhrā, Bācadhrā, Ḥibtūn, al-Ḥanāya, al-Maʿalla, Rāmīn, the forts of the Kurds and Bānʿathā of Ḥazza.<sup>225</sup> The momentum of this campaign carried ʿUtba up the Greater Zab as far as western Azerbaijan, and for a while the *kharāj* of several districts in Azerbaijan belonged to the province of al-Mawṣil.<sup>226</sup> These campaigns essentially created the Islamic province of Arḍ al-Mawṣil, which may have been preceded by a similar administrative configuration in the late Sasanian period. Although ʿUtba is generally regarded as the first real governor of Arḍ al-Mawṣil, Harthama ibn ʿArfaja al-Bāriqī is also said to have founded al-Mawṣil as a *miṣr* in 20/641 and to have settled Arabs there, after which he conquered al-Ḥadītha.<sup>227</sup>

Al-Mawṣil was really only a military outpost of al-Kūfa immediately after the conquest.<sup>228</sup> The detachment of its administration from that of al-ʿIrāq began in the caliphate of ʿUthmān with the appointment of the governor of al-Mawṣil by the caliph instead of by the governor of al-Kūfa. In 34/654, ʿUthmān appointed Ḥakīm ibn Salāma al-Ḥizāmī as governor there.<sup>229</sup> In 36/656 ʿAlī sent Maʿqil ibn Qays to al-Mawṣil from al-Madāʾin with three thousand men,<sup>230</sup> and before the battle of Ṣiffīn he appointed Malik al-Ashtar as governor of a wide band of territory that formed his north-western frontier with Muʿāwiya: al-Mawṣil, Naṣībīn, Dārā, Sinjār, Āmid, Ḥīt, ʿĀnāt and neighbouring Syrian territory. Mālik’s authority over this region was only potential, however, because he first had to contest Muʿāwiya’s governor of this territory, ad-Daḥḥāk ibn Qays al-Fihri, for it. They clashed between Raqqā and Ḥarrān, and Mālik was driven back to al-Mawṣil.<sup>231</sup> In 51-2/671-2 ʿAbd ar-Rahmān ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿUthmān ath-Thaqafī was the *ʿāmil* of al-Mawṣil for Muʿāwiya,<sup>232</sup> and the Kūfan Muhammad ibn al-Ashʿath ibn Qays, who was governor of al-Mawṣil in 66/685, had been

appointed by Ibn az-Zubayr in al-Madīna.<sup>233</sup> The revolt of al-Mukhtār temporarily subordinated the province of al-Mawṣil to al-Kūfa again. In 66/685, al-Mukhtār appointed ʿAbd ar-Rahmān ibn Saʿīd ibn al-Hamdānī as his *ʿāmil* of al-Mawṣil,<sup>234</sup> and in 67/686 he made Ibrāhīm ibn Mālik al-Ashtar governor of al-Mawṣil and neighbouring regions.

The three-way struggle to control upper Mesopotamia among the Marwānīs, al-Mukhtār, and Muṣʿab ibn az-Zubayr during the second *fitna* resulted in the administrative unification of the Jazīra and Arḍ al-Mawṣil into a single large governorship, together with their extensions along the line of conquest, Armenia and Azerbaijan. After the defeat of ʿUbaydallāh ibn Ziyād at the Khāzīr river in 67/686, al-Mukhtār made Ibrāhīm ibn Mālik al-Ashtar his *wālī* for al-Mawṣil, Armenia and Azerbaijan. Ibrāhīm returned to al-Mawṣil after the battle, put his brother ʿAbd ar-Rahmān in charge of Naṣībīn, and then set about conquering Sinjār, Dārā and adjacent parts of Arḍ al-Jazīra. He appointed Muslim ibn Rabīʿa al-ʿUqaylī over Āmid, ʿAbdallāh ibn Musāwir over Mayyāfāriqīn, ʿUmayr ibn al-Ḥubāb as-Sulamī over Kafartūthā, Ismāʿīl ibn Zufar over Qarqīsiyyā and Ḥātim ibn an-Nuʿmān al-Bāhili over Ḥarrān, ar-Ruhā and Sumaysāt.<sup>235</sup>

After the fall of al-Mukhtār in the same year, the Jazīra continued to be joined to al-Mawṣil, Armenia, and Azerbaijan in the appointments of Muṣʿab ibn az-Zubayr and in those of ʿAbd al-Malik. Muṣʿab put al-Muhallab ibn Abī Sufra in charge of al-Mawṣil, the Jazīra, Azerbaijan and Armenia in 67/686, but replaced him in the following year with Ibrāhīm ibn Mālik al-Ashtar as governor of al-Mawṣil and the Jazīra.<sup>236</sup> After the defeat of Muṣʿab, ʿAbd al-Malik made his brother Muḥammad ibn Marwān governor (*wālī*) of al-Mawṣil, the Jazīra, Armenia and Azerbaijan.<sup>237</sup> Under Muḥammad ibn Marwān, the town of al-Mawṣil developed into a real *miṣr*. His *sāhib shurṭa* paved it with stones, and post-reform copper coins began to be struck there.<sup>238</sup>

Al-Mawṣil and al-Jazīra came to be so mutually synonymous that they were called the two Mawṣils (al-Mawṣilān),<sup>239</sup> and it is only natural that the Arabic-writing geographers should put districts such as Qardā, Bāzabdā, and Bāʿarbāya in the territory of al-Mawṣil<sup>240</sup> and should subscribe to the anachronism that, at the time of the Muslim conquest Byzantine Mesopotamia equalled in extent the region meant by al-Jazīra at a later time.<sup>241</sup>

Assumptions about secular-ecclesiastical correspondence are also undermined in the case of Arḍ al-Mawṣil. It took the Nestorians almost two hundred years after the conquest to move the metropolitanate of Adiabene to al-Mawṣil, and although they changed its designation, its extent remained the same. When the metropolitan was still at Irbil in the early second/eighth century, his see may have begun to have been described as that of Ḥazza and al-Mawṣil.<sup>242</sup> By the late second/eighth century it was called Athōr,<sup>243</sup> and in the catholicate of ʾIshōc bar Nūn (208–13/823–8), al-Mawṣil became the residence of the metropolitan of Athōr.<sup>244</sup> These designations can be misleading because, even though Ibn Rustah says that Arḍ Athūr is al-Mawṣil, the Nestorian metropolitanate of al-Mawṣil/Athōr was not co-extensive with Arḍ al-Mawṣil, even in the ʿAbbāsī period, since the latter included Takrīt and Bājarmā.<sup>245</sup>

Based on the evidence so far, it would seem that both administrative continuity and ecclesiastical-secular correspondence is most evident at the district level but that it is difficult to prove either in the case of several subdistricts. At the same time, it is impossible to prove that there was no correspondence or continuity when so little is known about secular administration at the subdistrict level. The problem of drawing conclusions from negative evidence also applies to the apparent discontinuity in Nestorian administration between the early seventh and second/eighth century, to the disappearance of several bishoprics in Bēth Garmē at the end of the Sasanian period and to the appearance of new bishoprics in the region of the Greater Zāb in the Islamic period. Although Fiey identifies a tendency to form new bishoprics in the centres along the Tigris communication route created by the Muslim conquest,<sup>246</sup> this trend would seem to have begun in the late Sasanian period with the creation of bishoprics at Takrīt, Sinn, and Hadītha. The formation of other, new, short-lived bishoprics in the late Sasanian period had more to do with the conflict between Nestorians and Monophysites than with co-ordinating ecclesiastical organization with assumed changes in secular administration.<sup>247</sup>

As far as the formation of Arḍ al-Mawṣil itself is concerned, we are left with conflicting possibilities. If it was really based on a late Sasanian configuration, the location of its pre-Islamic capital

remains elusive.<sup>248</sup> On the other hand, it is possible that it was really created by the Muslim conquest and that the impression of its existence in the late Sasanian period is only an anachronous projection of early Islamic conditions into the recent past. Perhaps it is best to think in terms of a process of consolidation extending from the late Sasanian to the early Islamic period. It is also possible at this point to note the emergence of a trend, exemplified by the provinces of Arbāyestān and Arḍ al-Mawṣil, which were separated from al-ʿIrāq during the first/seventh century, in which late Sasanian administrative divisions survived the conquest at the district and sometimes at the subdistrict levels, but were significantly altered or reoriented at the provincial level.

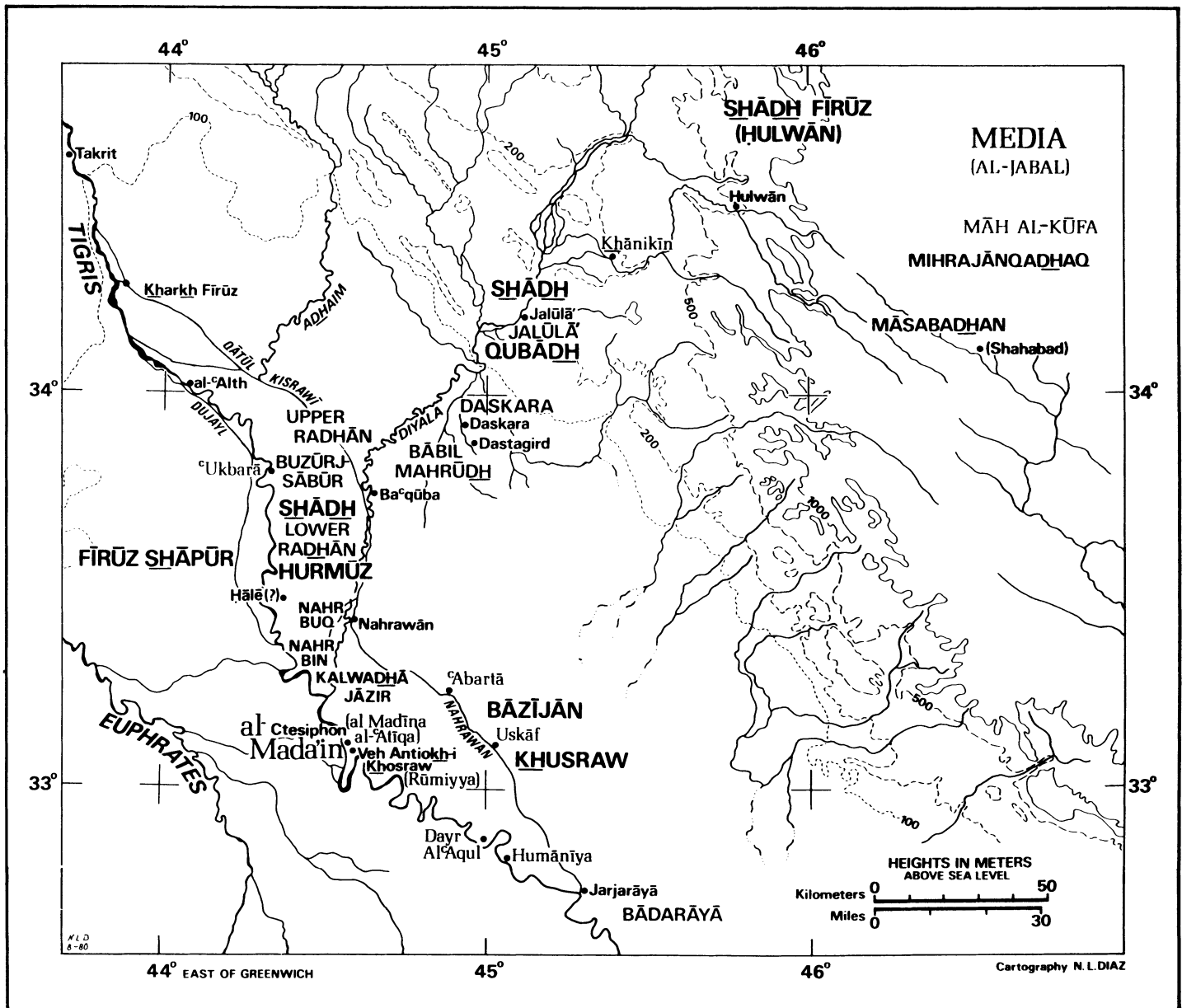
#### IV. ARḌ JŪKHĀ

Below Arḍ al-Mawṣil, the remaining provinces in the Sasanian quarter of the West tended to be organized in accordance with the irrigation system. That province which was irrigated by water drawn from the Tigris river and its tributaries lay east of that river and extended as far as the border of al-ʿIrāq along the foothills of the Zagros mountains. According to Yāqūt, the Nahr Jūkhā and its *kūra* extended from Khāniqīn as far as Khūzistān,<sup>249</sup> and this had been one of the most fertile provinces of the Sawād before the lower Tigris began to shift away from the southeastern part of it in the mid-fifth century.<sup>250</sup> By the late Sasanian period, the administrative districts belonging to this province were reduced to those in the region of the Diyāla river and the Nahrawān canal system<sup>251</sup> (see fig. 6). The Arabic-writing geographers considered the distinction between land irrigated by the Tigris and land irrigated by the Euphrates to be Sasanian in origin, and towards the end of the sixth century a Christian notable is supposed to have been in charge of the districts (*d̥māl*) along the Tigris.<sup>252</sup>

Since there is some confusion among the Arabic-writing geographers about the names of the districts in this province, it is best to start with the evidence provided by seal impressions. One of them belongs to the *mōbadh* of Ctesiphon, the *Shahristān* of Khusraw Shādh Qubādh. Another identifies the *mōbadh* of Jalūlāʾ in Khusraw Shādh Qubādh, and a third simply names the *mōbadh* of Khusraw Shādh Qubādh.<sup>253</sup> The combined evidence of these impressions, which are likely to be no earlier than the beginning of the reign of Khusraw Anūshirwān, suggests the existence of a single district called Khusraw Shādh Qubādh in this part of al-ʿIrāq which had Ctesiphon as its district capital and which included Jalūlāʾ. Göbl identifies the HW mintmark on Sasanian coins with the HWSR on a seal standing for Khusraw Shādh Qubādh.<sup>254</sup>

The subdivision of this province into districts appears to have begun in the reign of Khusraw Anūshirwān, who created a *kūra* called Khusrawmāh in Jūkhā consisting of the six *ṭasāṣij* of Tīsfūn or al-Madāʾin, Jāzir, Kalwādhā, Nahr Būq, Jalūlāʾ and Nahr al-Malik.<sup>255</sup> With the exception of Jalūlāʾ, which became the centre of its own district, and of Nahr al-Malik between the Tigris and Euphrates, which does not really belong to this configuration of subdistricts, this *kūra* of Khusrawmāh appears to be the core of the *kūra* of Shādh Hurmuz which lay along the Qātūl Kisrawī and the lower Diyāla river. This *kūra* was probably created by Hurmizd IV, and consisted of the seven *ṭasāṣij* of Buzurjsābūr, Nahr Būq, Kalwādhā and Nahr Bīn, Jāzir, al-Madīna al-ʿAtīqa (Ctesiphon), and Upper and Lower Rādhān.<sup>256</sup> The administrative centre of this district appears to have been Ctesiphon, which was the oldest part of the Sasanian metropolis called al-Madāʾin by the Arabs. The old royal residence called the White Palace (*Qaṣr al-abyaḍ*) was at Ctesiphon, which was called “the old city” (*al-Madīna al-ʿAtīqa*) by the Arabs.<sup>257</sup> The *Shatrōihā-i Ērānshahr* lists Ctesiphon as a provincial capital,<sup>258</sup> and al-Madīna al-ʿAtīqa was a mint city for post-reform dirhams.<sup>259</sup>

The subdistrict of Buzurjsābūr, reputedly established by Shāpūr I, with ʿUkbarāʾ as its main town, lay on the east bank of the Tigris 46 km. north of Baghdād.<sup>260</sup> The caliph ʿAlī (35–40/656–61) is said to have appointed a Thaqaḫī as *ʿāmil* to collect the *kharāj* at ʿUkbarāʾ.<sup>261</sup> Rādhān was below Buzurjsābūr on the east side of the Tigris between the ʿAdhaym and Diyāla rivers and below the Jabal Ḥamrīn.<sup>262</sup> The Arabic form Baradān for this subdistrict is probably derived from the Syriac Bēth Rādhān. Ḥālē, the main town in Rādhān, had a *mōbadh* in the fifth century and was the station of the *marzbān* of Bēth Aramāyē in the early sixth century.<sup>263</sup> The people of ʿUkbarāʾ and of al-Baradān are said to have made peace with a Muslim raiding party sent by Khālīd ibn al-Walīd in 12/633–4.<sup>264</sup> Upper Rādhān is mentioned as being in Arḍ Jūkhā in the events of 67/686, when Ibrāhīm an-Nakhaʿī was army

Fig. 6. *Ard Jūkhā*.

secretary for the garrison in Barādhān.<sup>265</sup> Although the other three subdistricts of Nahr Būq, Kalwādhā and Nahr Bīn, and Jāzīr, may have existed in the late Sasanian and early Islamic periods, there does not appear to be any testimony to their use as administrative units apart from that given by the later geographers.

Khusraw Anūshirwān is also said to have created the *kūra* of Bāzījān Khusraw along the Nahrawān canal system for the city of Veh Antiokh-i Khosraw which he founded in the southeastern part of al-Madā'in for the captives taken at Antioch in Syria and resettled in al-ʿIrāq in 540. It combined the five *tasātij* of Upper, Middle and Lower Nahrawān (including Jarjarāyā), Bēth Darayē (Bādarāyā) and Bēth Kosayē (Bākūsāyā).<sup>266</sup> Veh Antiokh-i Khosraw was called the "new city" (Maḥōzā Ḥḏhatā) in Syriac and ar-Rūmiyya by the Arabs. Khusraw Anūshirwān appointed a governor for this city, and the metropolitan bishop of Maḥōzā Ḥḏhatā signed the Nestorian synod of 554.<sup>267</sup> At the time of the Muslim

conquest, the people of ar-Rūmiyya agreed to terms of peace with Khālīd ibn ʿUrfuṭa which allowed them to leave or to stay. Those who stayed were to give their allegiance and advice, pay the *kharāj* and act as guides.<sup>268</sup> Ar-Rūmiyya survived at least until the middle of the second/eighth century,<sup>269</sup> but there does not appear to be any information on its administration in the early Islamic period. Although the existence of three subdivisions along the Nahrawān canal cannot be confirmed, the town of Nahrawān itself was an administrative centre in the late Sasanian period. The identification of the NRVAN mint mark, which is attested in the reign of Hurmizd IV, as Nahrawān<sup>270</sup> is made more likely by the presence of Nakhīrjān at Nahrawān in 16/637 in charge of the local treasury (*bayt al-māl*) for Yazdagerd III.<sup>271</sup> The presence of a famous bridge of boats (*jīsr*) at Nahrawān suggests that the Islamic post-reform mint at al-Jīsr may have been in or near Nahrawān.<sup>272</sup> Bēth Darayē, which was southeast of the Nahrāwān canal, is attested consistently as a bishopric (later Nestorian) in the fifth and sixth centuries, with the usual break between the synods of 605 and 174/790.<sup>273</sup>

The remainder of this province formed the *kūra* of Shādh Qubādh around the town of Jalūlā' between the Nahrawān canal system and Hulwān. Although the geographers list up to eight sub-districts,<sup>274</sup> all that may be said with reasonable certainty with regard to the late Sasanian period is that Jalūlā', Daskara and Bābil Mahrūdh were subdistricts at the time of the Muslim conquest. It has already been noted that Jalūlā' was the seat of a *mōbadh* in the sixth century. At the end of the campaign of Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ that subdued this part of al-ʿIrāq, Jarīr ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Bajalī was left at Jalūlā' with a force of 4,000 cavalry in order to prevent the return of the Persians.<sup>275</sup> Since Yāqūt also says that Jalūlā' was the *qaṣaba* of a *kūra* called Khusraw Shādh Hurmuz,<sup>276</sup> the post-reform mint of Khusraw Shādh Hurmuz in the *ustān* of Shādh Qubādh<sup>277</sup> is likely to have been associated with Jalūlā'. Dastagird had become the royal residence under Khusraw Parvīz, and there was a *dihqān* at nearby Daskara at the time of the conquest in 16/637.<sup>278</sup> At the same time, the *dihqān* of Bābil Mahrūdh made peace for this subdistrict with Hāshim ibn ʿUtba,<sup>279</sup> and we hear of a *dihqān* of Bābil Mahrūdh called Mādhruasb in 76/695.<sup>280</sup>

Although parts of al-Madā'in had served as local administrative centres for parts of this province, one of the major changes wrought by the Muslim conquest was the transformation of the eastern half of this metropolis from the capital of the Sasanian empire to the provincial capital of Arḍ Jūkhā. Although early Muslim governors at al-Madā'in resided in the White Palace and used the great Sasanian audience hall (*Īwān Kīsrā*), they were subordinated to governors at al-Kūfa. The districts (*kuwar*) of Arḍ Jūkhā that were created in the late Sasanian period do not appear to have survived as distinct administrative units in the early Islamic period. The literature speaks only of the subdistricts of Arḍ Jūkhā, which did continue to be under native notables (*dahāqīn*).<sup>281</sup> As the land irrigated by the Tigris, this province also formed a single jurisdiction for finance officials in early appointments by the caliph ʿUmar. In 16/637 ʿUmar is said to have appointed an-Nuʿmān ibn ʿAmr ibn Muqarrin over the taxes (*kharāj*) of the lands irrigated by the Tigris. He was replaced by Ḥudhayfa ibn ʿAsīd al-Ghifārī in 21/642, who was replaced in turn in the same year by Ḥudhayfa ibn al-Yamān.<sup>282</sup> Abū Yūsuf describes the territory under Ḥudhayfa's authority as Jūkhā beyond the Tigris and what [the Tigris] irrigated.<sup>283</sup>

In the early Islamic period, the strategic importance of al-Madā'in lay in its control of the hinterland of al-Kūfa and of the main road to the east. It was considered the key to Kūfan territory, and the garrison stationed there was responsible for keeping watch over Arḍ Jūkhā and Arḍ Anbār.<sup>284</sup> Although Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ is said to have appointed a certain Shuraḥbīl ibn as-Simṭ of the tribe of Kinda as governor of al-Madā'in during the events of 14/635,<sup>285</sup> Islamic administration at al-Madā'in really seems to begin with the appointment of Qaʿqāʿ ibn ʿAmr there when Sa'd left for al-Kūfa in 16/637.<sup>286</sup> Qaʿqāʿ was followed as *amīr* of al-Madā'in by Salmān al-Fārisī, who died there in the caliphate of ʿUthmān.<sup>287</sup> Ḥudhayfa ibn al-Yamān appears to have been the fiscal agent (*ʿāmil*) at al-Madā'in from 21/642 until his death there in 36/656,<sup>288</sup> and both Salmān and Ḥudhayfa are said to have resided at Aspānbur<sup>289</sup> next to Ctesiphon where the *Īwān Kīsrā* was located. When he rebelled against ʿUthmān, Mālik al-Ashtar appointed Yazīd ibn Ḥujayba at-Taymī as governor of al-Madā'in and Arḍ Jūkhā.<sup>290</sup> ʿAlī is said to have appointed Yazīd ibn Qays al-Arḥabī governor of al-Madā'in and all of Jūkhā,<sup>291</sup> as well as ʿAbdallāh ibn Khabāb,<sup>292</sup> before appointing Sa'd ibn Masʿūd ath-Thaqafī prior to the battle of Ṣiffīn in 46/656.<sup>293</sup> Sa'd remained at al-Madā'in, where he apparently combined

financial and military duties during the rest of ʿAlī's caliphate and continued as *ʿāmil* there when al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī went to al-Madā'in and resided in the White Palace after being proclaimed caliph.<sup>294</sup> In 43/663, Simāk ibn ʿUbayd al-ʿAbsī was the *ʿāmil* of al-Madā'in for Mughīra ibn Shuʿba when the latter was governor of al-Kūfa,<sup>295</sup> and in 66/685 al-Mukhtār, at al-Kūfa, appointed Ishāq ibn Masʿūd over al-Madā'in and Arḍ Jūkhā.<sup>296</sup> After the fall of al-Mukhtār, both Kardam ibn Marthad al-Fazārī and Yazīd ibn al-Ḥārith ash-Shaybānī were governors at al-Madā'in for Muṣʿab ibn az-Zubayr in 68/687-8.<sup>297</sup> ʿAbdallāh ibn Abī ʿUṣayfīr was in his first term as *amīr* of al-Madā'in with both military and financial authority when al-Ḥajjāj dismissed him in 76/695 and appointed ʿUthmān ibn Quṭn over the *minbar* and worship of al-Madā'in, the relief of all of Jūkhā and the *kharāj* of the *ustān*.<sup>298</sup> In the following year, when Muṭarrif ibn al-Mughīra became governor of al-Madā'in for al-Ḥajjāj, he began his term of office by holding a public audience in the *Īwān*.<sup>299</sup> In 82/701 Ḥanzala ibn al-Warrād and Ibn ʿAttāb ibn Warqā' divided the responsibility for al-Madā'in,<sup>300</sup> and afterwards Abū Ḥarb ibn Abī l-Aswad ad-Du'alī was governor of Jūkhā until the death of al-Ḥajjāj.<sup>301</sup>

#### V. MĀH AL-KŪFA

Immediately to the northeast of Arḍ Jūkhā were several districts which lay geographically in Media (al-Jabal) and in the late Sasanian quarter of the North,<sup>302</sup> but which were included in the quarter of the West in the time of Khusraw Parvīz and continued to be associated with the administration of al-ʿIrāq as a result of the Muslim conquest. Although Bēth Madayē is attested as a Nestorian bishopric in 605,<sup>303</sup> there is no indication that Media was a single, separate province in the late Sasanian period. As we have seen, parts of al-Jabal may have already been associated with the government of the quarter of the West under Khusraw Parvīz, since the fiscal authority of Yazdīn is said to have included districts in al-Jabal. The district of Ḥulwān in particular may have been attached fiscally to the quarter of the West in the late Sasanian period because it was the practice of the last Sasanian monarchs to spend the summer there in the mountains above the ʿIrāqī plain.<sup>304</sup> The district of Ḥulwān was called Shādh Fīrūz or Khusraw Shādh Fīrūz, and it seems reasonable to regard the sub-district called Fīrūz Qubādh as that of the city of Ḥulwān itself.<sup>305</sup> According to Masʿūdī, the *kūra* of Ḥulwān/Shādh Fīrūz was attached to the *kūra* of al-Jabal after the shift in the course of the lower Tigris river ruined Jūkhā.<sup>306</sup> There was a *radh* at Ḥulwān in 558-9.<sup>307</sup> Ḥulwān is attested as a Nestorian bishopric in 554, 585 and 605,<sup>308</sup> but since this bishopric remained part of the metropolitanate of Media the association of parts of western Media with the government of al-ʿIrāq under the last Sasanians was not reflected in Nestorian ecclesiastical organization. At the time of the conquest in 16/637, a man called az-Zaynābī, the *dihqān* of Ḥulwān, seems to have been the local governor because he joined his forces with the army of Khusrawshunūm who had been left at Ḥulwān when Yazdagerd III fled to Rayy.<sup>309</sup>

After the conquest, Ḥulwān became an important frontier post, with the commander initially under the authority of the governor at al-Madā'in. After Qaʿqāʿ ibn ʿAmr took Ḥulwān, he garrisoned it with a group of Persian defectors (the Ḥamrā') under their leader, a man from Khurāsān called Qubādh.<sup>310</sup> Under ʿUthmān, this position became a direct caliphal appointment, and ʿUṭayba ibn an-Nahhās, whom he put in charge of Ḥulwān in 34/655, was still there when the caliph died in the following year.<sup>311</sup> The strategic importance of Ḥulwān in this period is suggested by the account that when Mālik al-Ashtar was preparing to move against ʿUthmān from al-Kūfa in 35/656, he sent Hānī' ibn Abī Ḥayya al-Hamdānī to Ḥulwān with 1,000 horsemen to guard the road to al-Jabal.<sup>312</sup> Afterwards, al-Aswad ibn Qaṭaba is said to have been in charge of the garrison at Ḥulwān for ʿAlī,<sup>313</sup> and during the second civil war, al-Mukhtār, at al-Kūfa, appointed Saʿd ibn Ḥudhayfa ibn al-Yamān as governor of Ḥulwān in 66/685 with 2,000 men.<sup>314</sup>

One of the results of the Muslim conquest was the division of several of the districts in western al-Jabal into two groups, one subordinate to al-Kūfa and the other subordinate to al-Baṣra. When the pursuit of the retreating Persians was halted in 17/638, the territory conquered by Saʿd's army included the two districts of Māsabadhān and Mihrajānqadhaq. Both of these districts appear to have existed in the late Sasanian period. There is a seal impression of the *mōbadh* of Māsabadhān, and this district is also attested as a Nestorian bishopric in 554 and 576.<sup>315</sup> Mihrajānqadhaq is also attested as a

Nestorian bishopric in 576 and 585.<sup>316</sup> After the conquest, these districts were attached to the territory governed from al-Kufā. In 17/638 when ʿĪrār ibn al-Khaṭṭāb returned to al-Kūfa, he left Ibn al-Hudhayl in charge of Māsabadhān as one of the frontier posts of al-Kūfa.<sup>317</sup> In 22/643, the frontier district in western al-Jabal, under the authority of the governor of al-Kūfa, is called Mihrajānqadhaq and its land (*ard*).<sup>318</sup> After the battle of Nihāwand in the previous year the districts of Barādhān and Nihāwand were also included, forming an enclave in western al-Jabal subject to al-Kūfa (Māh al-Kūfa).<sup>319</sup> As in the case of Ḥulwān, the administration of these districts appears to have been detached from al-Kūfa in the caliphate of ʿUthmān, and when he died in 35/656 Mālik ibn Ḥabīb was governor of Māh (al-Jabal) and a certain Ḥubaish was in charge of Māsabadhān.<sup>320</sup> ʿAlī is said to have appointed a governor for al-Jabal and Iṣfahān.<sup>321</sup> The *kharāj* of Māh al-Kūfa was still assigned for the support of the Muslims in al-Kūfa under Muʿāwiya (41–60/661–80), who assigned Dīnawar, which the Baṣrans had conquered, to the Kūfans and compensated the Baṣrans by assigning Nihāwand to them.<sup>322</sup> About the same time, Ḥulwān seems to have become the administrative centre for Māh al-Kūfa. In the events of 58/677 it is called a *kūra* between the capital and the border of Rayy,<sup>323</sup> and when al-Mukhtār appointed Saʿd ibn Ḥudhayfa governor of Ḥulwān in 66/685, he instructed his financial officers (*ummāl*) in al-Jabal to turn over the revenue of their districts (*kuwar*) to Saʿd.<sup>324</sup> By the mid-second/eighth century, Ḥulwān was also a Nestorian metropolitanate.<sup>325</sup> The geographers knew better than to consider Ḥulwān to be part of al-ʿIrāq, and Yaʿqūbī explains that it was one of the districts of al-Jabal but that its land tax (*kharāj*) was incorporated with that of the districts of the Sawād.<sup>326</sup>

## VI. ARḌ BĀBIL

West of the Tigris, the province irrigated by the Euphrates river and by canals drawn from it was called the land (*ethrā*, *ard*) of Bābil<sup>327</sup> and may have been a subdivision of Asōristān before the provincial reorganization by Qubādh (see Fig. 7). This region seems to have formed a marzbānate under the Sasanians and was under an *iṣpāhbadh* in the sixth century.<sup>328</sup> But towards the end of the sixth century, this region came under the control of the Banū Lakhm Arab vassals of the Sasanians at al-Ḥīra, with the result that Arḍ Bābil came to be called the Sawād of al-Ḥīra.<sup>329</sup> When this province reverted to direct Persian rule after the fall of the Banū Lakhm at the beginning of the seventh century, a *marzbān* was stationed at al-Ḥīra, although there is also a reference to a *pādhghōspān* of Bābil in 628.<sup>330</sup>

The districts of this province were formed during the Sasanian period by detaching subdistricts belonging to the old Arḍ Bābil and grouping them around three new districts (*kuwar*) across the northern part of it. The earliest *kūra* formed in this way was Vēh-Artakhshatr (Beh Ardashīr), which was created for the city of the same name founded by the Sasanian monarch Ardashīr I (226–41) west of the Tigris opposite Ctesiphon.<sup>331</sup> The round, walled city of Vēh-Artakhshatr was the western half of the metropolis of al-Madāʾīn.<sup>332</sup> In about 420 there was a *marzbān* residing in a fort to the north of this city,<sup>333</sup> and we have a seal impression of the *mōbadh* of Vēh-Artakhshatr the *shatristān* of Vēh-Artakhshatr.<sup>334</sup> The Sasanian mintmarks WH and WYH are now believed to stand for Vēh-Artakhshatr, and coins with the WYH mintmark have been found there dated as late as year 38 (628) of Khusraw Parvīz.<sup>335</sup> The Arabs called this city Behrasīr,<sup>336</sup> and although it does not appear to have been as important an administrative centre after the conquest, ʿAlī appointed ʿAdī ibn al-Ḥārith as governor of Behrasīr and its *ustān*,<sup>337</sup> and Behrasīr was a mint for post-reform dirhams.<sup>338</sup>

As part of the imperial capital, Vēh-Artakhshatr was also a centre of administration for the Nestorian Christian community. The Nestorian catholicos normally resided here at Kōkē in the city that Christians called Seleucia. From here, he governed the patriarchal see of Bēth Aramāyē, which consisted of the bishoprics of Fīrūz Shāpūr (al-Anbār), az-Zawābī, al-Ḥīra, Bēth Dārāyē, Kashkar and possibly Tīrhān.<sup>339</sup> Although this configuration may have preserved the form of the older province of Bēth Aramāyē in Christian administration after the reforms of the sixth century, it corresponded to no contemporary secular province in the late Sasanian period. After the Muslim conquest, the Nestorian catholicos returned to Seleucia and continued to reside there until the middle of the second/eighth century, even though that city was no longer part of the imperial capital or even a provincial capital. The survival of the patriarchal see of Bēth Aramāyē, with its bishoprics of Kaskar, az-Zawābī and al-Ḥīra, after the conquest meant that it roughly and accidentally corresponded to the Sawād of al-Kūfa.<sup>340</sup>

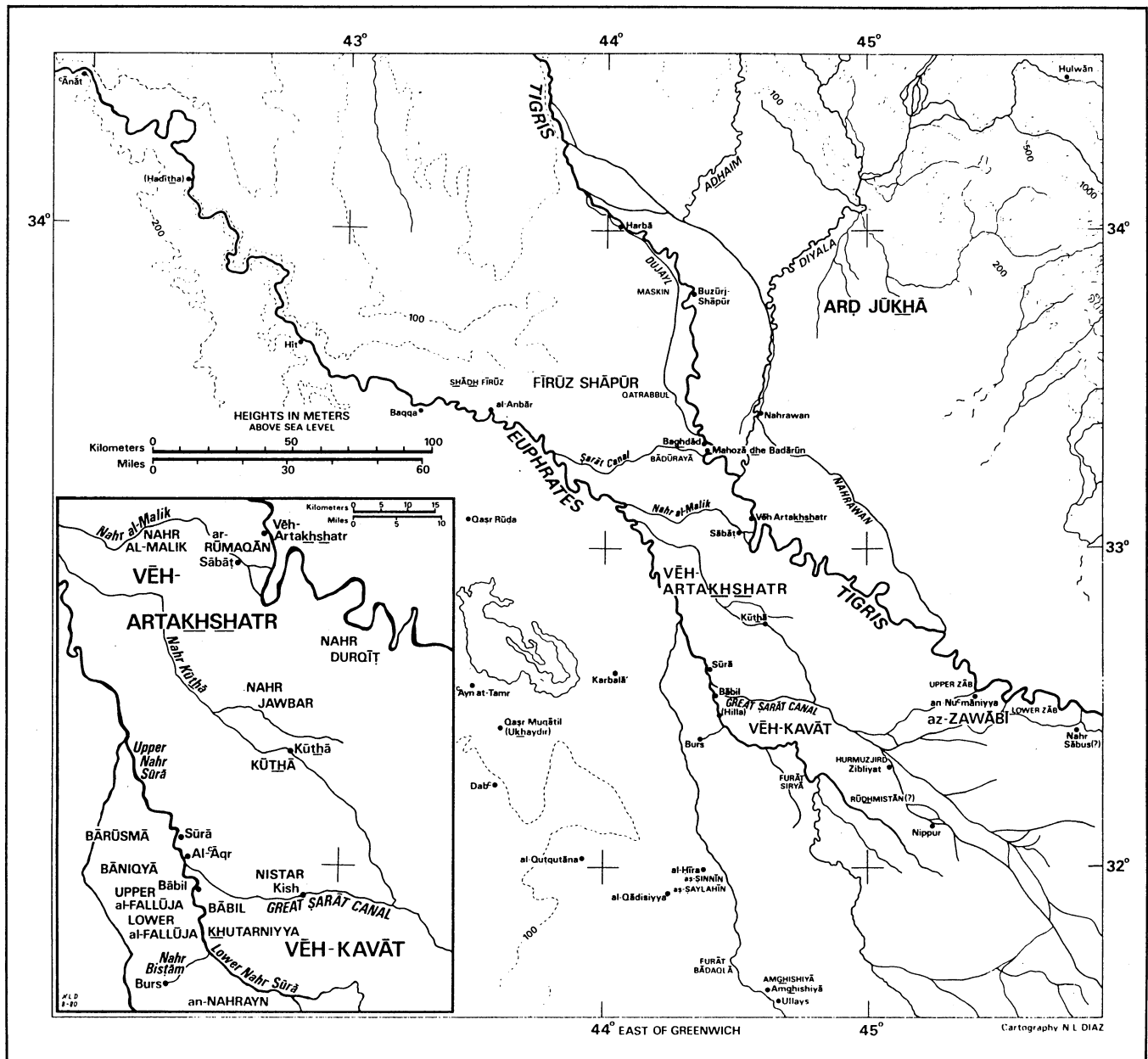


Fig. 7. *Ard Bābil and the frontier district.*

The district of VĒh-Artakhshatr lay along the Nahr al-Malik and KŪthā canals, where Ardashīr I is said to have established Behrasīr itself, ar-Rūmaqān, Nahr Durqīt, KŪthā and Nahr Jawbar as its sub-districts and to have appointed tax collectors (*cummāl*) for them.<sup>341</sup> Ar-Rūmaqān was probably between the city of VĒh-Artakhshatr and Sābāt,<sup>342</sup> but there are no details of its administration in this period. Nor is there information about the administration of KŪthā in this period, although the banks of the Nahr KŪthā were densely settled, and KŪthā was an important town in the sixth and seventh centuries.<sup>343</sup> The only reference to an official at KŪthā appears to be during the conquest itself, when Nakhīrjān left a *dihqān* called Shahriyār at KŪthā in 15 or 16/636-7 before he fled to al-Madā'in.<sup>344</sup> There is better evidence for the existence of Nahr Jawbar and Nahr Durqīt in the seventh century. After the battle of Kaskar in 12/634, the Persian Farwandādh came to terms with al-Muthannā ibn Hāritha

and Abū ʿUbayd for the subdistrict of Nahr Jawbar, in return for collecting four dirhams per person there.<sup>345</sup> Two *dihqāns* among those who were responsible for the *kharāj* of Nahr Durqīt are mentioned in the events of 77/696.<sup>346</sup> The subdistrict of Nahr al-Malik along the canal of the same name actually belongs to this configuration, as is confirmed by a seal impression of the *mōbadh* of Nahr Malik in Vēh-Artakhshatr.<sup>347</sup> After the conquest, the *dihqān* of Nahr al-Malik and Kūthā, Fīrūz ibn Yazdagerd, was granted a stipend of 1,000 or 2,000 dirhams by ʿUmar I in 20/641.<sup>348</sup>

The evidence suggests that the district of Vēh-Artakhshatr was dissolved as an immediate result of the Muslim conquest, although its subdistricts survived as administrative units, in some cases with the native notables as officials, and were rejoined to Arḍ Bābil. When ʿAlī sent Yazīd ibn Abī Zayd al-Anṣārī from al-Madīna to administer the Euphrates subdistricts in 36/656, his jurisdiction was defined as al-Bihqubādhāt plus the *rasātiq* of Nahr al-Malik, Kūthā, Behrasīr, ar-Rūmaqān, Nahr Jawbar and Nahr Durqīt.<sup>349</sup> It was only after ʿAlī came to al-Kūfa that the *ustān* of Behrasīr was reconstituted as a separate administrative jurisdiction.

The second district that was created out of the territory of Arḍ Bābil was formed around the city of Fīrūz Shāpūr, which had been founded as a military outpost at the Euphrates end of the Byzantine border by Shāpūr I (241–72) in the third century. Arabic tradition ascribes its foundation to Shāpūr II in the following century, who is said to have established a garrison of two thousand men there, appointed Shīlā ibn Farrūkhzādhān over the marzbānate of Fīrūz Shāpūr, and added the marzbānate of the land irrigated by the Euphrates to Shīlā’s jurisdiction.<sup>350</sup> The Arabs called Fīrūz Shāpūr al-Anbār (“the granary”) because of the storehouses there containing wheat, barley, fodder and straw, which the Sasanian monarchs used to provision their supporters.<sup>351</sup> When Fīrūz Shāpūr fell to the Emperor Julian in 363, great quantities of weapons and provisions were found there.<sup>352</sup>

In the early sixth century, Qubādh I created an *ustān* called Shādh Qubādh along the course of the Euphrates between the Byzantine border and al-Anbār and along the Nahr Rufayl and Sarāt canals which consisted of the four subdistricts of Shādh Fīrūz or Fīrūz Shāpūr (containing al-Anbār, Hīt and ʿĀnāt), Bādūrayā, Maskin and Qaṭrabbul.<sup>353</sup> There is no way of knowing whether this configuration survived during the ascendancy of the Banū Lakhm in the later sixth century, when ʿAmr ibn al-Mundhir administered the territory along the Euphrates from the town of Baqqa on the Euphrates between Hīt and al-Anbār,<sup>354</sup> although the friends and protégés of an-Nuʿmān ibn al-Mundhir (d. ca. 602) got their provisions from the Persian granaries at al-Anbār.<sup>355</sup> After the fall of the Banū Lakhm, al-Anbār reverted to direct Persian rule and there was a *marzbān* called Pusfarrūkh there at the time of the conquest.<sup>356</sup>

The Arabs called the territory of al-Anbār the Upper Ustān (*ustān āl-ʿālī*), and in the early Islamic period it tended to retain its nature as a military outpost on the border between al-ʿIrāq and Syria. Khālīd ibn al-Walīd left Zibriqān ibn Badr as his lieutenant at al-Anbār when he left for ʿAyn at-Tamr during the conquest.<sup>357</sup> ʿAlī appointed Ḥassān ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Bakrī as governor of the Upper Ustān, and in 39/659 Ashras ibn Ḥassān al-Bakrī was in charge of a garrison of 500 men at al-Anbār for ʿAlī,<sup>358</sup> ʿAlīs *ʿāmil* at Hīt was Kamīl ibn Ziyād an-Nakhaʿī.<sup>359</sup> Qays ibn Saʿd ibn ʿUbāda was in charge of al-Anbār briefly for al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī in 41/661.<sup>360</sup> Either Muʿāwiya or Yazīd I detached the towns of Hīt and ʿĀnāt from the jurisdiction of al-Anbār and attached them to the Jazīra,<sup>361</sup> and it was this truncated Upper Ustān that Muṣʿab ibn az-Zubayr sent Abū Bakr ibn Mikhnaḥ to govern in 68/687.<sup>362</sup> Under al-Ḥajjāj, Ibn ar-Rufayl was governor of al-Anbār,<sup>363</sup> and the Upper Ustān was a mint for post-reform dirhams.<sup>364</sup>

The remaining subdistricts lay along the Nahr Rufayl or Dujayl and Ṣarāt canals between the Euphrates and the Tigris. Maskin was on the Dujayl just west of the Tigris opposite ʿUkbara below the border with Arḍ al-Mawṣil.<sup>365</sup> Qaṭrabbul seems to have been on the middle course of the Dujayl south of Maskin and west of the Ṣarāt branch.<sup>366</sup> There is no information about the administration of either Maskin or Qaṭrabbul in the first/seventh century. The subdistrict of Bādūrayā was the territory irrigated by the eastern end of the Ṣarāt canal from al-Muḥawwal to the Tigris river at Baghdād.<sup>367</sup> Its centre was probably the fortified town of Mahozā dhʿ Badārūn with its market nearby at the village of Baghdād on the west bank of the Tigris.<sup>368</sup> Saʿd ibn Masʿūd defeated the Khawārij under ʿAbdallāh ibn Wahb at Karkh Baghdād in 37/657.<sup>369</sup> The denial by Sayf ibn Ḥānī in 68/687 that he had been given the

*kharāj* of Bādūrayā in return for his support of Muṣṣab ibn az-Zubayr would indicate that Bādūrayā existed as an administrative jurisdiction by at least that time.<sup>370</sup> In the time of al-Ḥajjāj, we are told that Ibn ar-Rufayl (otherwise called the governor of al-Anbār) was the *Ṣāhib an-nahr* of Bādūrayā.<sup>371</sup>

Fīrūz Shāpūr is also a good example of ecclesiastical-secular administrative correspondence spanning the late Sasanian and early Islamic periods. The Christian (later Nestorian) bishopric of Fīrūz Shāpūr is attested almost continuously from the late fifth century until 605 and from about 71/690 throughout the second/eighth century.<sup>372</sup> Under Mārūthā in the second quarter of the seventh century, there were Monophysite bishops at both Fīrūz Shāpūr and at ʿĀnāt, whose sees included the local pastoral Arabs.<sup>373</sup>

The third district formed out of Arḍ Bābil lay along the Zāb canal system (az-Zawābī) parallel to the Tigris river. It was included in the land irrigated by the Euphrates, although in the Sasanian period the lower part of this system appears to have been partly fed from the Tigris.<sup>374</sup> This district seems to have been in existence by the fifth century, when a certain Yazdgushnasp is called the *pādghosbān* of az-Zawābī.<sup>375</sup> Although Ibn Khurradādhbih lists three subdistricts of Upper, Middle and Lower Zāb, there really seem to have been only two: the Upper Zāb with its administrative centre at the town of an-Nuʿmāniyya, which was founded by an-Nuʿmān ibn al-Mundhir during the ascendancy of the Banū Lakhm in the late sixth century, and the Lower Zāb (or Nahr Sābus), with its main town called Nahr Sābus, located where it flowed into the Tigris.<sup>376</sup>

Az-Zawābī survived the conquest as an administrative district because the people there came to terms with the conquerors. After the battle of Kaskar, Abū ʿUbayd and al-Muthannā ibn Ḥāritha gave the same terms of a tribute of four dirhams per person to az-Zawābī that they gave to Nahr Jawbar.<sup>377</sup> Peace terms were renewed with ʿUrwa ibn Zayd al-Khayl aṭ-Ṭāʾī after the battle of al-Qādisiyya by the *dihqān* of az-Zawābī.<sup>378</sup> When ʿAlī was at al-Kūfa, he appointed Saʿīd ibn Masʿūd ath-Thaqafī as governor of the *ustān* of az-Zawābī.<sup>379</sup>

Just like al-Anbār, az-Zawābī (Zābhē) was also a Christian bishopric (later Nestorian) throughout the late Sasanian and early Islamic periods. Bishops of Zābhē are attested from the early fifth until the early seventh century, in 23/644, and from the late first/seventh until the late second/eighth century.<sup>380</sup>

The remainder of Arḍ Bābil was organized as the district of Vēh-Kavāt by Qubādh I in the early sixth century along the Babylon branch of the Euphrates, which was the main branch in the late Sasanian period, and its branch canals and extensions. This district is attested on late Sasanian seals as Vēh-Kavāt,<sup>381</sup> and this is probably the district of Kavāt which the Armenian Geography describes as recently created by the Persians between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers.<sup>382</sup> The division of this district into Upper, Middle and Lower Bihqubādh appears to have occurred in the early Islamic period.<sup>383</sup> but there is considerable confusion among the Arabic-writing geographers about the way its subdistricts were grouped. This confusion itself may be the result of changes in the canal patterns after the conquest and the shift of the main channel of the Euphrates from the Babylon branch to the al-Kūfa branch at the end of the Sasanian period. Since the designation of such canal and riverline districts by terms such as “upper” and “lower” refer to their relative positions upstream or downstream from each other, it is reasonable to expect the upper, middle and lower Bihqubādh districts to be arranged going downstream. But the subdistricts that Ibn Khurradādhbih lists as belonging to Upper Bihqubādh lie downstream from those given as belonging to Middle Bihqubādh. Part of the explanation for this confusion may simply be that the subdistricts of Upper and Middle Bihqubādh were transposed by Ibn Khurradādhbih and Qudāma (or by their common source) and that this was copied by Yāqūt.<sup>384</sup> The entire group of subdistricts is often merely called al-Bihqubādhāt, and this designation became equivalent to Arḍ Bābil in the first/seventh century. ʿAlī appointed Qurt ibn Kaʿb governor of al-Bihqubādhāt, and Abū Yūsuf refers to ʿAlī’s tax collectors in these districts.<sup>385</sup>

Vēh-Kavāt/Bihqubādh lay below Vēh-Artakhshatr and began where the Euphrates divided into two branches six *farāsikh* (ca. 36 km.) below the offtake of the Nahr Kūthā. The main branch of the Euphrates still went past Sūrā, Bābil and Nippur in the late Sasanian period. In the early Islamic period, when the main stream of the Euphrates had shifted to the western branch that went by al-Kūfa, the first stretch of the former main branch was called the Upper Nahr Sūrā, and with its branch canals

it irrigated the subdistricts of Sūrā, Barbīsamā and Bārūsmā.<sup>386</sup> Although Sūrā was a major town, there do not appear to be any direct references to its administration in the late Sasanian period or at the time of the conquest. However, in 77/696 there is a reference to an *‘amil* of Sūrā for al-Ḥajjāj in charge of collecting the *kharāj*, whose treasury (*dār al-kharāj*) and tax collectors were located at Samarraja.<sup>387</sup> The subdistricts of Bāniqyā and Bārūsmā appear to have been more important at the time of the conquest, when they were both controlled by the local notable, Ṣalūbā, or by his son Buṣbuhrā. These subdistricts seem to have been west of Sūrā in the region between the two branches of the Euphrates. Buṣbuhrā ibn Ṣalūbā arranged the peace terms for Bāniqyā and Bārūsmā in 12/633 with Khālīd or with Jarīr ibn ‘Abdallāh, whom Khālīd put in charge of Bāniqyā and Bismā. The following year, Abū ‘Ubayd made a local notable called Farrūkh responsible for the tribute of Bārūsmā.<sup>388</sup>

Downstream from these subdistricts, the stretch of the Euphrates called the Lower Nahr Sūrā in the Islamic period irrigated the subdistricts of Bābil, Khuṭarniyya, Upper and Lower al-Fallūja and an-Nahrayn.<sup>389</sup> Bābil appears to have been an administrative centre of some importance in the late Sasanian period. Dīnawarī calls Sābūr ar-Rāzī, who was *ispāhbadh* of the Sawād in the reign of Qubādh I, the *‘amil* of Bābil and Khuṭarniyya.<sup>390</sup> Later, in the reign of Khusraw Parvīz, Mardānshāh is called the *marzbān* of Bābil and Khuṭarniyya.<sup>391</sup> There is also a seal impression of the *mōbadh* of Bābil in Vēh-Kavat.<sup>392</sup> Bistām, the *dihqān* of Burs, who tied the floating bridges for Zuhra ibn al-Ḥawiyya and who received Khālīd ibn ‘Urfuta hospitably when the latter was pursuing the Persians after the battle of al-Qādisiyya, is probably the Bistām ibn Narsī who, as *dihqān* of Bābil and Khuṭarniyya, was granted a stipend of one or two thousand dirhams by ‘Umar I.<sup>393</sup> In 78/697 al-Jarrāh ibn ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥakamī was at Bābil and al-Fallūjatayn under al-Ḥajjāj.<sup>394</sup>

Upper and Lower al-Fallūja appear to have been along the ancient Pallacotas canal west of the Lower Nahr Sūrā and not far from Bāniyā.<sup>395</sup> Buṣbuhrā ibn Ṣalūbā was the *dihqān* of these subdistricts at the time of the conquest, when Khālīd ibn al-Walīd appointed ‘Abdallāh ibn Wathīma an-Naṣrī to collect the tribute (*jizya*) in Upper al-Fallūja.<sup>396</sup> After the conquest, Jamīl ibn Buṣbuhrā was the *dihqān* of al-Falālīj and an-Nahrayn.<sup>397</sup> In 68/687 Tīr-Gushnasp, the *dihqān* of Narsī, fled to ‘Ayn at-Tamr with the money of al-Fallūja.<sup>398</sup> Al-Ḥajjāj appointed ‘Ubaydallāh ibn Abī l-Mukhāriq as governor of Upper al-Fallūja or of the two Fallūjas, and Jamīl ibn Busbuhrā is supposed to have given him advice.<sup>399</sup> The subdistrict of an-Nahrayn belongs to this group along the Lower Nahr Sūrā, and was probably the territory between two closely-parallel canals. At the time of the conquest, Khālīd put Bashīr ibn al-Khaṣāṣiyya in charge of an-Nahrayn. Bashīr took up his residence at a place called al-Kuwayfa in Bānbūrā near Bābil. Although the geographers included an-Nahrayn among the subdistricts of the Sawād, there does not seem to be any information on its administration after the conquest.<sup>400</sup>

Although the remaining subdistricts of Vēh-Kavat were in the region southeast of the Lower Nahr Sūrā, their exact locations remain unknown, and it is impossible to identify the courses of the canals associated with them or to relate them to a single hydrographic system. This region may have originally been the downstream extension of the Babylon branch of the Euphrates and its canals before they ran into the marshes.

At the time of the conquest, the subdistricts of this region, later called Lower Bihqubādh, appear to have been Furāt Siryā, Hurmuzjird, Rūdhmistān, and Nistar. Furāt Siryā was east of al-Falālīj and west of Hurmuzjird. Its *dihqān*, Zādh ibn Buhaysh, who is called the lord (*ṣāhib*) of Furāt Siryā, made peace with Khālīd in 12/633 in return for tribute, but led the Persian infantry at the battle of al-Qādisiyya.<sup>401</sup> Hurmuzjird was east of Furāt Siryā and between Zandaward, in the territory of Kaskar, and Ullays on the Euphrates. The people of Hurmuzjird are also said to have made peace with Khālīd.<sup>402</sup> Rūdhmistān appears to have been near Hurmuzjird. Khālīd is said to have sent Utta ibn Abī Utta to collect the tribute of Rūdhmistān, where he resided near a canal called the Nahr Utta after him.<sup>403</sup> Nistar may have been north of Furāt Siryā along the stretch of the Nahr Sūrā below the Bridge of Qāmighān called the Great Sarāt canal. Its centre in the Sasanian period may have been the town of Pakora on the Nahr Pakor founded in the Parthian period.<sup>404</sup> In about 600, the aristocratic Persian family of Mihrāmgushnasp/Gīwargīs the Nestorian martyr in 614, owned property at Paqōryā in Nanēštār.<sup>405</sup> When Khālīd appointed Suwayd ibn Muqarrin al-Muzanī over Nistar, he resided at al-

°Aqr, which was called °Aqr Suwayd after him.<sup>406</sup> The tentative identification of °Aqr Suwayd with °Aqr Bābil<sup>407</sup> would place Nistar on the Great Šarāt canal. During his follow-up campaign, Abū °Ubayd routed a large Persian force under Jābān at Nistar.<sup>408</sup>

There is little evidence that this configuration of subdistricts survived for long after the conquest. Furāt Siryā did not survive as an administrative jurisdiction, and although Hurmuzjird, Rūdhmistān, and Nistar continued to be listed by the geographers as subdistricts of Lower Bihqubādh,<sup>409</sup> there appears to be no evidence that they actually served as such in the form of appointments or the presence of officials after the events during the conquest. The subdistricts of Furāt Bādaqlā and of as-Saylaḥīn are also included in lists of the subdistricts of Lower Bihqubādh, but seems best to regard them as part of the territory of al-Ḥīra. Although Yāqūt includes al-Ḥīra and al-Kūfa among the subdistricts of Lower Bihqubādh,<sup>410</sup> al-Ḥīra does not seem to have been part of Vēh-Kavāt in the late Sasanian period, but was the centre of a frontier district on the southwest border of al-°Irāq. The inclusion of al-Kūfa, al-Ḥīra, as-Saylaḥīn, and Furāt Bādaqlā among the subdistricts of Lower Bihqubādh may reflect later conditions, when the lower end of al-Bihqubadhāt appears to have been rotated to the west because of the increased importance of the region around al-Kūfa and the shift of the main course of the Euphrates river to that channel.

Sometime after the caliphate of °Alī, al-Bihqubadhāt was divided into the three districts (*kuwar*) of Upper, Middle and Lower Bihqubādh. The earliest evidence for this division is provided in 66/685, when al-Mukhtār appointed Qudāma ibn Abī °Isā to Upper Bihqubādh, Ka°b ibn Qaraḏa to Middle Bihqubādh and Habīb ibn Munqidh ath-Thawrī to Lower Bihqubādh.<sup>411</sup> Post-reform dirhams may have been struck in Middle and Lower Bihqubādh in 90/708-9,<sup>412</sup> but in the light of the preceding discussion it is not really certain that the Lower Bihqubādh mint was located at al-Kūfa as is usually assumed. If there was in fact a Lower Bihqubādh mint, it should probably be sought somewhere else.

## VII. AL-ḤĪRA AND THE FRONTIER DISTRICT

The reduced territory of Arḏ Bābil or Bihqubādhāt was also called the Sawād of al-Ḥīra. In the account of Khālīd's settlement after his raid in al-°Irāq, Bāniqyā, Basmā, an-Nahrayn and Rūdhmistān are described as being in the Sawād of al-Ḥīra.<sup>413</sup> Such usage was the result of control by the Banū Lakhm in the late sixth century, when the territory under an-Nu°mān ibn al-Mundhir reached from al-Anbār to Bahrayn and across the Sawād to an-Nu°māniyya near the Tigris river. But this was at the height of the power of the Banū Lakhm, and normally the territory of their kingdom was the region west of the middle Euphrates from al-Ḥīra to al-Anbār, Baqqa and Hīt and including °Ayn at-Tamr and al-Quṭqutāna on the edge of the desert.<sup>414</sup> After the execution of an-Nu°mān ibn al-Mundhir, the last of the Banū Lakhm, by Khusraw Parvīz in about 602, the general al-Hurmuzān was sent to al-Ḥīra, but was defeated by the Banū Shaybān at Dhū Qār in about 604. Afterwards, the desert border was restored by Rūzbī ibn Marzūq, who was *marzbān* of al-Ḥīra.<sup>415</sup>

For the rest of the Sasanian period al-Ḥīra was the administrative centre of a frontier district. For seven or nine years al-Ḥīra was governed for Khusraw Parvīz by Iyās ibn Qabīsa aṭ-Ṭā'ī, along with a finance official called an-Nakhīrjān.<sup>416</sup> At the time of Khālīd's attack, Āzādhbih ibn Bāniyān ibn Mihrbundādh had been *marzbān* of al-Ḥīra for seventeen years, and his jurisdiction included the frontier posts and the Persian cavalry in them.<sup>417</sup>

Al-Ḥīra briefly remained an administrative centre under the Muslims until the foundation of al-Kūfa three miles away in 17/638. After the fall of al-Ḥīra, Khālīd appointed Qa°qā° ibn °Amr as his lieutenant before leaving for al-Anbār.<sup>418</sup> After the battle of the Bridge in 13/634 or 14/635, a Persian nobleman called Mihrān was put in charge of al-Ḥīra with a cavalry force. He was the last *marzbān* of al-Ḥīra, and after he was defeated at the battle of Buwayb, al-Muthannā ibn Ḥāritha left Bashīr ibn al-Khaṣāṣiyya as his own lieutenant at al-Ḥīra.<sup>419</sup>

Al-Ḥīra is another good example of administrative correspondence between the Nestorian Church and the state in the Sasanian period. The Nestorian see of Ḥīrtā is attested from 410 until 174/790, and after the foundation of al-Kūfa, this see represents the survival of Sasanian conditions without corresponding to the position of al-Kūfa as a regional capital.<sup>420</sup>

It is possible to identify some of the administrative subdivisions of the territory of al-Ḥīra. The *rustāq* or *ṭassūj* of as-Saylaḥīn along the Nahr as-Saylaḥūn south of al-Ḥīra was granted to an-Nuʿmān ibn al-Mundhir for his support by Khusraw Parvīz and was the location of one of the Persian frontier posts (*masāliḥ*). As we have seen, it was later considered to be one of the subdistricts of Lower Bihqubādh.<sup>421</sup> Aṣ-Ṣinnīn, nearby, on its own canal, was the location of a residence belonging to the Banū Lakhm. At the time of the conquest, the lord (*ṣāhib*) of aṣ-Ṣinnīn was a member of the highest Persian aristocracy and was about to marry a daughter of Āzādhibih, the *marzbān* of al-Ḥīra. Although aṣ-Ṣinnīn does not appear to have served as an administrative jurisdiction after the conquest, the caliph ʿUthmān purchased a farm there from Ṭalḥa ibn ʿUbaydallāh.<sup>422</sup> The subdistrict of Furāt Bādaqlā must have been along the canal of the same name between al-Ḥīra and Ullays. After the defeat of Jābān at Ullays, Khālīd went to Furāt Bādaqlā, where he defeated Āzādhibih or his son at the mouth of the Furāt Bādaqlā at the collection of canals (*mujtamaʿ al-anhār*).<sup>423</sup> By itself, the existence of this canal in this period does not really prove that it served as the centre of an administrative subdistrict. The city or fortress of Amghīshiyā was located near the point where the Furāt Bādaqlā canal re-entered the al-Kūfa branch of the Euphrates. The town of Ullays was one of its frontier posts, and the Persian general Jābān, whom Khālīd defeated there, is called the *ṣāhib* of Ullays. Afterwards, Khālīd destroyed Amghīshiyā and made peace with the people of Ullays.<sup>424</sup>

In the late Sasanian period the desert border south and west of al-Ḥīra was protected by a highly developed system of watchtowers and garrison posts (*al-masāliḥ*) served by one or more canal systems that both provided water and served as a barrier. What was probably a series of canal systems and oases is presented in the literature as a single moat-canal called the *khandaq* created by Shāpūr II in the fourth century and restored by Khusraw Anūshirwān two centuries later that stretched along the edge of the desert from the Euphrates river near Hīt through the region of oases called aṭ-Ṭaff to the sea near the later site of al-Baṣra. This line was fortified with watchtowers and barracks for garrisons in order to prevent attacks by pastoralists on the cultivated land of al-ʿIrāq, and was regarded as the effective boundary between al-ʿIrāq and the Najd.<sup>425</sup> The remains of these fortifications may still be seen at sites such as Ḍabʿ, south of Ukhayḍir, Qaṣr Rūḍa at Wādī Burdān, and building A at Quṣayr South, 60 km. southwest of Nāṣiriyya; and a Sasanian watchtower called al-Qāʾim survives on the Euphrates below as-Ṣālihiyya.<sup>426</sup>

The line of oases called the ʿUyūn aṭ-Ṭaff is especially associated with the northwestern end of the *khandaq*. They included ʿAyn aṣ-Ṣayd, al-Quṭqutāna, ar-Ruḥayma and ʿAyn Jamal, where the land was assigned for the use of the Arabs and Persians who defended the border.<sup>427</sup> After the battle of Dhū Qār, we are told that Arabs took over part of the ʿUyūn aṭ-Ṭaff while the Persians kept the rest. The foundation of al-Qādisiyya just inside the *khandaq* by Khusraw Parvīz was part of the re-establishment of this frontier in the early seventh century.<sup>428</sup> By the time of the Muslim conquest, the estates of the ʿUyūn aṭ-Ṭaff were held by members of the highest Persian aristocracy;<sup>429</sup> the fortress of Qaṣr Muqātil, northwest of al-Quṭqutāna, was held for the Persians by a garrison under an-Nuʿmān ibn Qabīṣa aṭ-Ṭāʾi;<sup>430</sup> and the oasis of al-ʿUdhayb beyond the *khandaq* was garrisoned as a Persian border post.<sup>431</sup> In his attempt to restore this frontier after the first Muslim attacks on al-ʿIrāq, Yazdagerd III is said to have appointed armies for al-Ḥīra, al-Anbār, the border posts (*al-masāliḥ*) and al-Ubulla.<sup>432</sup> The ʿUyūn aṭ-Ṭaff were finally abandoned by the Persians after the battle of al-Qādisiyya and the fall of al-Madāʾin to the Muslims.<sup>433</sup>

There was little reason for the Muslims to maintain elaborate defences against a desert which they controlled, and after the conquest this line of Persian fortifications was either abandoned or put to other uses. Some of the fortresses may have survived as way-stations along the desert road between al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa or became centres for farming in their oases. The conquest had the immediate effect of shifting the important defensive frontier of al-ʿIrāq from the southwest against the Arabs in the desert to the northeast against the Persians on the plateau, and this tended to remain the case even after the conquest of Iran. This shift appears to be reflected in the way by which al-Qādisiyya is said to have been the gate of Persia in pre-Islamic times,<sup>434</sup> but after the conquest the city of al-Madāʾin came to be called the gate of al-Kūfa, and it was said that “whoever takes al-Madāʾin possesses the greater part of the land (*ard*) of al-Kūfa.”<sup>435</sup>

It is interesting to note in this regard that when ʿUbaydallāh ibn Ziyād had the *shurṭa* of al-Kūfa blockade the desert from al-Qādisiyya to al-Quṭqutāna in 60/680 in order to prevent the Kūfans from going to the Ḥijāz to warn al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī, he was apparently using the line of the *khandaq* but had reversed its defensive intention, using it to keep people in al-ʿIrāq instead of to keep them out. Actually, the cordon which ʿUbaydallāh set up against the arrival of al-Ḥusayn appears to be the only example of early Muslim use of this defensive line in the way the Persians had intended, and it forced al-Ḥusayn, who tried to outflank it, to approach the Euphrates at Karbalā'.<sup>436</sup>

ʿAyn at-Tamr really belonged to the frontier district of al-Ḥīra in the late Sasanian period, and was the largest and most important of the oases at the northwest end of the line of Persian defences.<sup>437</sup> The account that Khusraw Parvīz granted ʿAyn at-Tamr and eighty villages on the border of the Sawād to Iyās ibn Qabīṣa for his support when the latter was appointed governor of al-Ḥīra would, in itself, suggest that ʿAyn at-Tamr was part of the territory of al-Ḥīra in this period.<sup>438</sup> At the time of the conquest, the Persian garrison at ʿAyn at-Tamr was commanded by Mihrān the son of Bahrām Chūbīn,<sup>439</sup> and, after defeating him, Khālīd left ʿUwaym ibn al-Kāhil al-Aslamī as his lieutenant there.<sup>440</sup>

ʿAyn at-Tamr preserved its military character as a frontier post in the early Islamic period because of its location on the side of al-ʿIrāq that faced Syria. During the first and second *fitnas*, ʿAyn at-Tamr was an important defensive point against Syrian attack.<sup>441</sup> In 35/656, when al-Malik at-Ashtar rebelled against Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ, he sent Ḥamza ibn Sinān al-Asadī to ʿAyn at-Tamr with five hundred men as a defence against Syria.<sup>442</sup> In 39/660 Mālik ibn Kaʿb commanded a garrison of 1,000 at ʿAyn at-Tamr for ʿAlī, but only 100 or 300 of them were there when Muʿāwiya sent an-Nuʿmān ibn Bashīr to attack him.<sup>443</sup> Under Ibn az-Zubayr in 68/688, Biṣṭām ibn Maṣqala ibn Hubayra ash-Shaybānī commanded a garrison of 150 horsemen at ʿAyn at-Tamr.<sup>444</sup>

Al-Kūfa more than replaced al-Ḥīra as a local administrative centre, because the territory administered by the Muslim governors of al-Kūfa combined several former Sasanian provinces. The territory immediately under the authority of the Muslim governors at al-Kūfa combined the region irrigated by the Euphrates with the frontier district of al-Ḥīra (see Fig. 8). There were usually subordinate military governors with garrisons at al-Anbār and ʿAyn at-Tamr. Beginning in the caliphate of ʿUmar I, the region irrigated by the Euphrates river served as a single jurisdiction for tax collectors. In 16/637 ʿUmar appointed Suwayd ibn ʿAmr ibn Muqarrin to collect the *kharāj* of the Euphrates districts and in 21/642 replaced him with Jābir ibn ʿAmr al-Muzanī, who was followed by ʿUthmān ibn Ḥunayf.<sup>445</sup> When ʿUthmān was killed in 35/656, Jābir ibn Fulān (=ʿAmr) al-Muzanī was again in charge of the lands irrigated by the Euphrates.<sup>446</sup> In the same year, when Malik al-Ashtar rebelled, he appointed ʿUrwa ibn Zayd al-Khayl aṭ-Ṭāʾī over the territory between al-Kūfa and al-Madāʾin (*mā dūna l-Madāʾin*).<sup>447</sup> This is virtually the same region as that specified when ʿAlī sent Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī to collect the taxes in the subdistricts (*rasātiq*) irrigated by the Euphrates: Nahr al-Malik, Kūthā, Behrasīr, ar-Rūmaqān, Nahr Jawbar, Nahr Durqīṭ and al-Bihqubādhāt.<sup>448</sup> As late as the second *fitna*, ʿAbd al-Malik is said to have tried to bribe Ibrāhīm ibn Malik al-Ashtar with the districts irrigated by the Euphrates river in order to get him to desert Muṣʿab ibn az-Zubayr.<sup>449</sup>

Beyond the Tigris river, the territory of Arḍ Jūkhā was administered by officers appointed by the governor of al-Kūfa with their post and garrison at al-Madāʾin. Ḥulwān and Māh al-Kūfa were under other subordinate officers, and, in 17/638, when the Muslim army settled at al-Kūfa, its frontier posts were at Ḥulwān, Māsabadhān, Qarqīsiyyā' and al-Mawsil.<sup>450</sup> After the conquest of the Jazīra was completed, the territory of al-Kūfa only went as far as Ānāt on the middle Euphrates, and from the time of ʿUthmān the appointment of a governor for al-Mawsil tended to be made by the caliph. Consequently, the Sawād of al-Kūfa came to be defined as the region extending from Kaskar to the Zāb river and from Ḥulwān to al-Qādisiyya.<sup>451</sup> An indication of how the subordinate divisions of Arḍ al-Kūfa were defined in the early Islamic period is provided by the description which ʿAmmār ibn Yāsir gave to the caliph ʿUmar I in 22/643 of the territory under his authority as the *amīr* of al-Kūfa. He defined the region that he ruled as consisting of al-Ḥīra and its land (*arḍ*), Bābil and its land (*arḍ*), al-Madāʾin and its surroundings (*mā ḥawlahā*), and Mihrijanqadhaq and its land (*arḍ*).<sup>452</sup> As a practical matter, Arḍ al-Kūfa was originally simply the region carved out by the conquests of the army of Saʿd

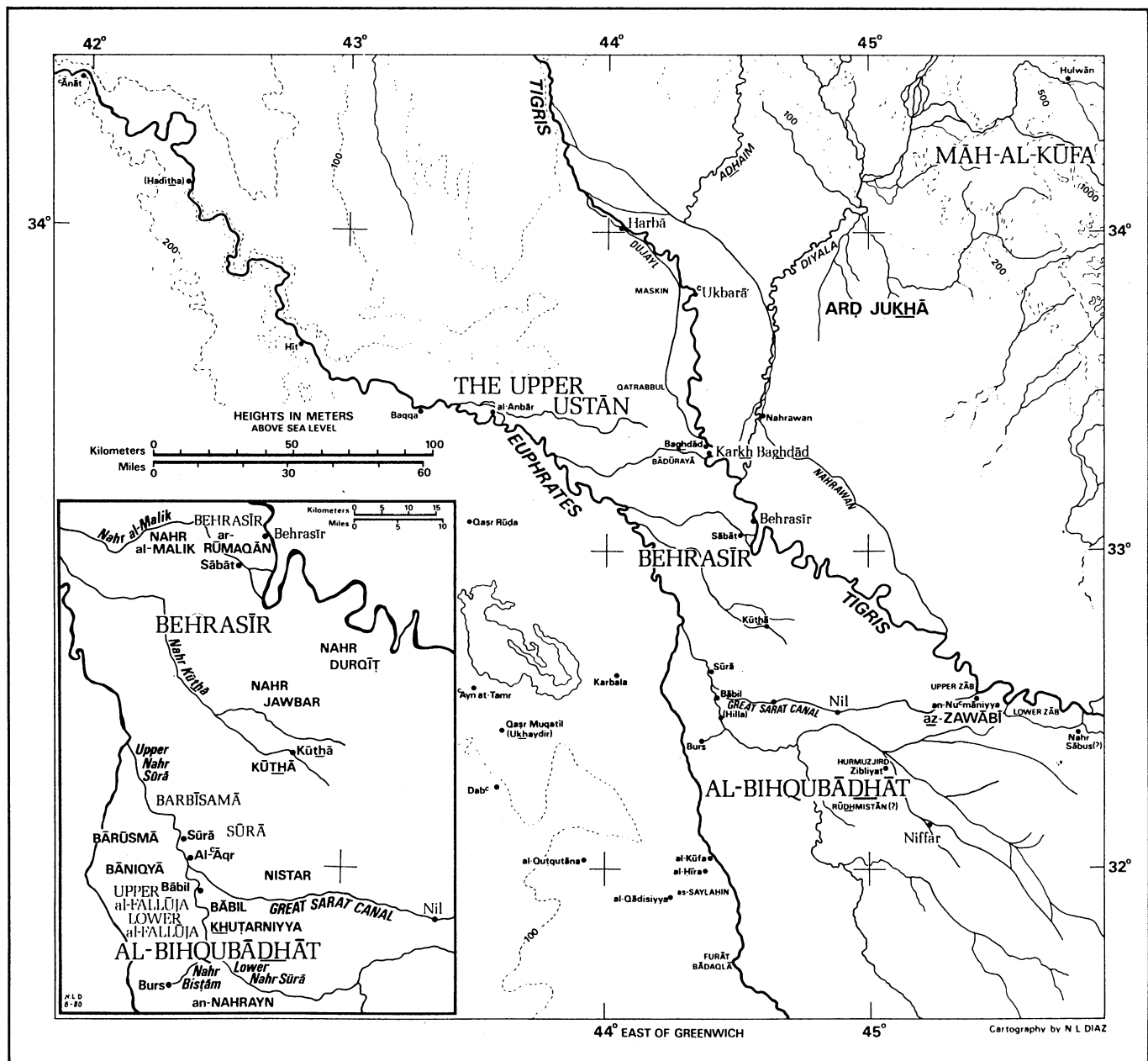


Fig. 8. Arḍ al-Kūfa.

ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, which in their main thrust followed the arterial road from al-Ḥīra to al-Madā'in and then to Ḥulwān.

#### VIII. ARḌ KASKAR

The territory along the lower Tigris river below Fam aṣ-Šilḥ was the region of Mesene (Maysān) in the largest sense, and had formed the kingdom of Characene in the late Parthian period.<sup>453</sup> Although Maysān survived as an administrative jurisdiction under the Sasanians, the district of Kaskar was carved out of it, possibly as a crown district (see fig. 9). Shāpūr I is credited with founding a city called Shādh Sābūr in Maysān,<sup>454</sup> and the *kūra* of Shādh Sābūr is also identified as the district of Kaskar.<sup>455</sup> The existence of Kaskar as an administrative jurisdiction in the middle Sasanian period is indicated by a reference to an *ōstāndār* of Kaskar in the Babylonian Talmud.<sup>456</sup>

The expansion of the district of Kaskar into an important province in the Quarter of the West in the late Sasanian period reflected significant changes in the hydrography of the lower Tigris and in the local irrigation system. Until the fifth century, the main course of the lower Tigris is said to have gone through Jūkhā from Fam aş-Şilḥ to Bahandaf, Bādarāyā, Bākusāyā, Fāmiyya al-ʿIrāq, Bādhībīn, Qurqūb, aṭ-Ṭīb, Shāburzān, ad-Darmakān, Nahr Jūr and Abdasī to al-Madhār.<sup>457</sup> Beginning with floods in the time of Bahram V (420-38), the main course of the Tigris began to shift to a new channel above Fam aş-Şilḥ that went by Kaskar without entirely abandoning its former course.<sup>458</sup> The immediate results were disastrous flooding below Kaskar and the spread of swamps there. Flooding occurred again in the time of Qubādh I (488-96, 499-531).<sup>459</sup> Masʿūdī claims that the cumulative result of the change in the course of the lower Tigris was to reduce the number of *kuwar* in the Sawād from twelve to ten and the number of *ṭasāsij* from 60 to 48.<sup>460</sup> The long-term effects were a decline in importance of the region along the former course of the lower Tigris and the use of the redirected water for extensive irrigation and agricultural development, especially the spread of rice cultivation, around Kaskar in the late Sasanian and early Islamic period.

The work of reclamation and development was begun under Khusraw Anūshirwān when one of his sons who was governor of Kaskar restored some of the flooded land to cultivation.<sup>461</sup> According to Dīnawarī, Kaskar was a small *kūra* when Khusraw Anūshirwān enlarged it by adding territory to it from the *kuwar* of Behrasīr, Hurmizd Khurrah and Maysān and divided it into the *tassūj* of Jundīsābūr and the *tassūj* of az-Zandaward.<sup>462</sup> Since Jundīsābūr is obviously out of place here, El-ʿAlī has suggested that it ought to be Khusraw Sābūr which is said to have been the name of the *kūra* of Kaskar before al-Ḥajjāj built Wāsiṭ.<sup>463</sup> It seems more likely that Khusraw Sābūr was the new name of the enlarged province and that the *tassūj* called al-Ustān was probably the subdistrict around Kaskar itself.<sup>464</sup> The formation of the enlarged province of Kaskar is also reflected in the Armenian Geography, which describes Kaskar as a province recently created by the Persians between the Tigris and the Euphrates.<sup>465</sup>

Although Yāqūt's description of the *kūra* of Kaskar as extending from the east side of the lower Nahrawān canal to the mouth of the Tigris estuary and including the subdistricts of al-Madhār, Maysān and Dast-i Maysān makes it equivalent to the old Maysan,<sup>466</sup> the late Sasanian province of Kaskar appears to have occupied only the northwestern half of that region. Its extent may be judged by the places included in its territory. According to tradition, Qurqūb was considered to be one of the financial subdistricts (*aʿmāl*) of Kaskar.<sup>467</sup> Al-Mubārak, on the Tigris between Fam aş-Şilḥ and Jabbul, is said to have belonged to Kaskar in former times (*fī l-qadīm*).<sup>468</sup> El-ʿAlī suggests that if the *tassūj* of al-Jawāzir which is given as one of the subdistricts of Shādh Sābūr/Kaskar by Ibn Khurradābih and Yāqūt,<sup>469</sup> survived as the village of Jāzir near an-Nahrawān in Shādh Hurmuz, it might have been that par of Hurmizd Khurrah (=Shādh Hurmuz) which was added to Kaskar by Khusraw Anūshirwān.<sup>470</sup> However, this explanation is difficult to reconcile with geography (the *kūra* of Bāzījān Khusraw lay between Jāzir and Kaskar), with the inclusion of Jāzir in the *kūra* of Khusrawmāh by Khusraw Anūshirwān, and possibly with chronology if the *kūra* of Shādh Hurmuz was only formed afterwards by Hurmizd IV.

Kaskar was effectively bounded to the south by the swamps, but appears to have extended west halfway across the Sawād to the province of Veh-Kavat. Al-Warkāʾ, at the edge of the swamps, if not already in them, is described by the late Sasanian period as being in the neighbourhood of az-Zawābī on the border or within the boundaries (*ḥudūd*) of Kaskar.<sup>471</sup> The western border appears to have been in the vicinity of Niffār. Between 608 and 612 Gregory of Kaskar built a monastery at Bazzā dh<sup>c</sup> Nahrawāthā (Bizz al-Anhār) in the territory (*ethrā*) of Kaskar near Niffār on the border of Bārusmā.<sup>472</sup> Yāqūt quotes variant accounts which place Niffār among the subdistricts of Kaskar, and, after the conquest, of al-Basra, but says that it was really a subdistrict of Bābil in Arḍ al-Kūfā.<sup>473</sup>

The significance of the westward extension of Kaskar to include the region more or less bounded by al-Warkāʾ, Niffār and az-Zawābī in the late Sasanian period lies in the fact that this region was occupied by the lower end of a massive irrigation system which was developed at that time with water drawn from the Babylon branch of the Euphrates. Az-Zandaward, which lay somewhere between Kaskar and Hurmuzjird in Vēh-Kavāt and was a place of some importance at the time of the conquest,<sup>474</sup> was probably the administrative centre for this region. There are several impressive,

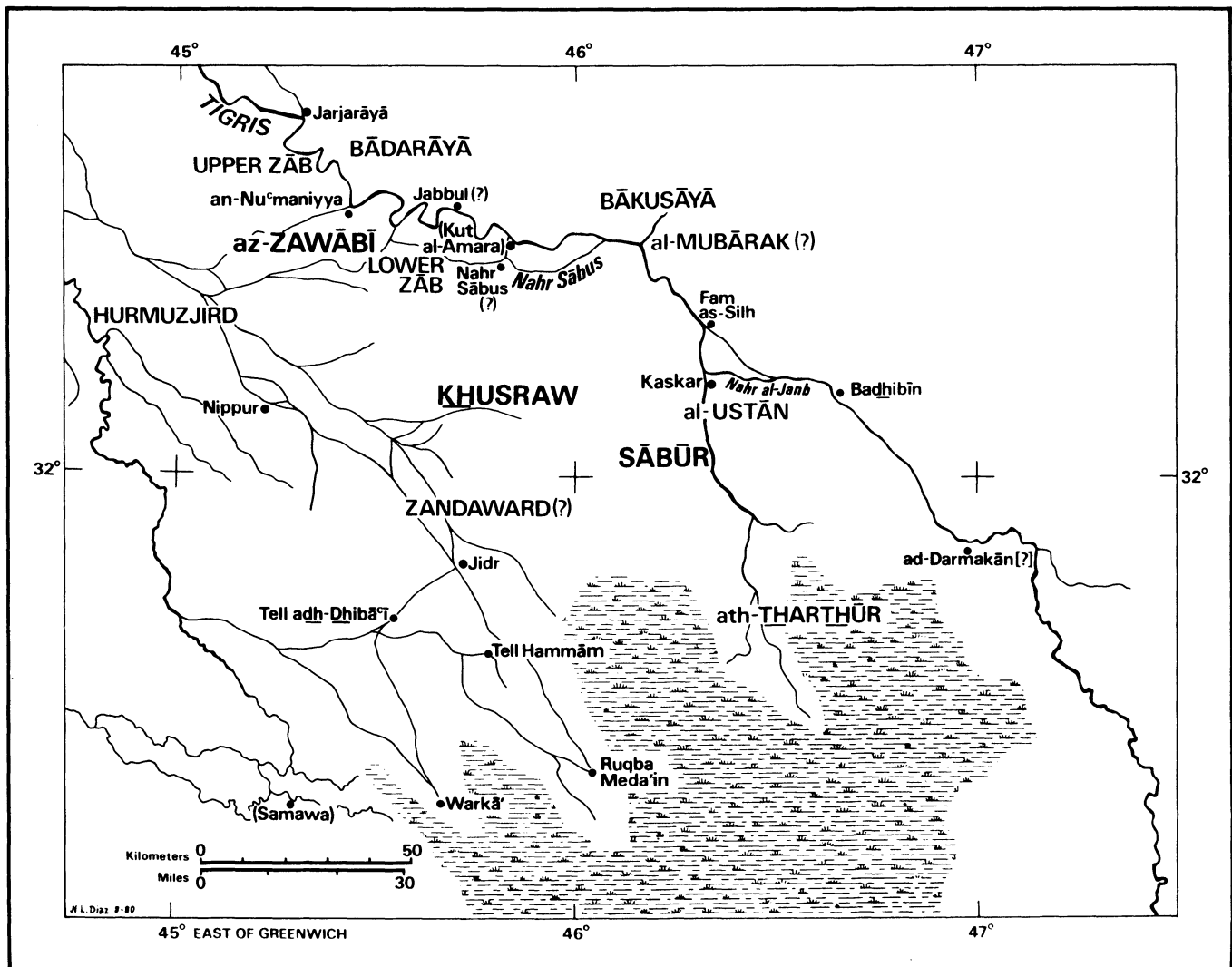


Fig. 9. Khusraw Sābūr.

fortified Sasanian sites in this region, such as Tell adh-Dhibā'ī, Tell Hammām, Jidr and Ruqba Meda'in, that are possible locations for az-Zandaward and indicate the existence of other administrative and military centres there.<sup>475</sup>

Thus the expanded, late Sasanian province of Kaskar combined two, essentially new, hydrographic systems: the great trunk canal which was drawn from the Euphrates in its western part, and the lower course of the re-routed Tigris in its eastern part. Intersecting branch canals fanned out over this region from both systems. This seems to be the reality behind Ibn Khurradādhbih's schematic location of the *kūra* of Shādh Sābūr in the territory irrigated by both the Tigris and Euphrates. This region also appears to have been developed in the interest of the Sasanian royal family as a crown province. At the time of the conquest, Kaskar had been granted as a *qatī'a* to a nephew of Khusraw Parvīz called Narsī. Although the great Tigris flood in 628 which inundated the *ṭassūj* of ath-Tharthūr below Kaskar must have reduced the income from this province, Narsī was active in the defense of Kaskar and az-Zandaward during the conquest.<sup>476</sup>

The integrity of the province of Kaskar survived the Muslim conquest (see fig. 10). After the battle of Kaskar in 12/634, Abū 'Ubayd and al-Muthannā ibn Ḥāritha made a settlement in Kaskar at the rate of four dirhams per person.<sup>477</sup> Once the victories at al-Qādisiyya, al-Madā'in and Jalūlā' secured

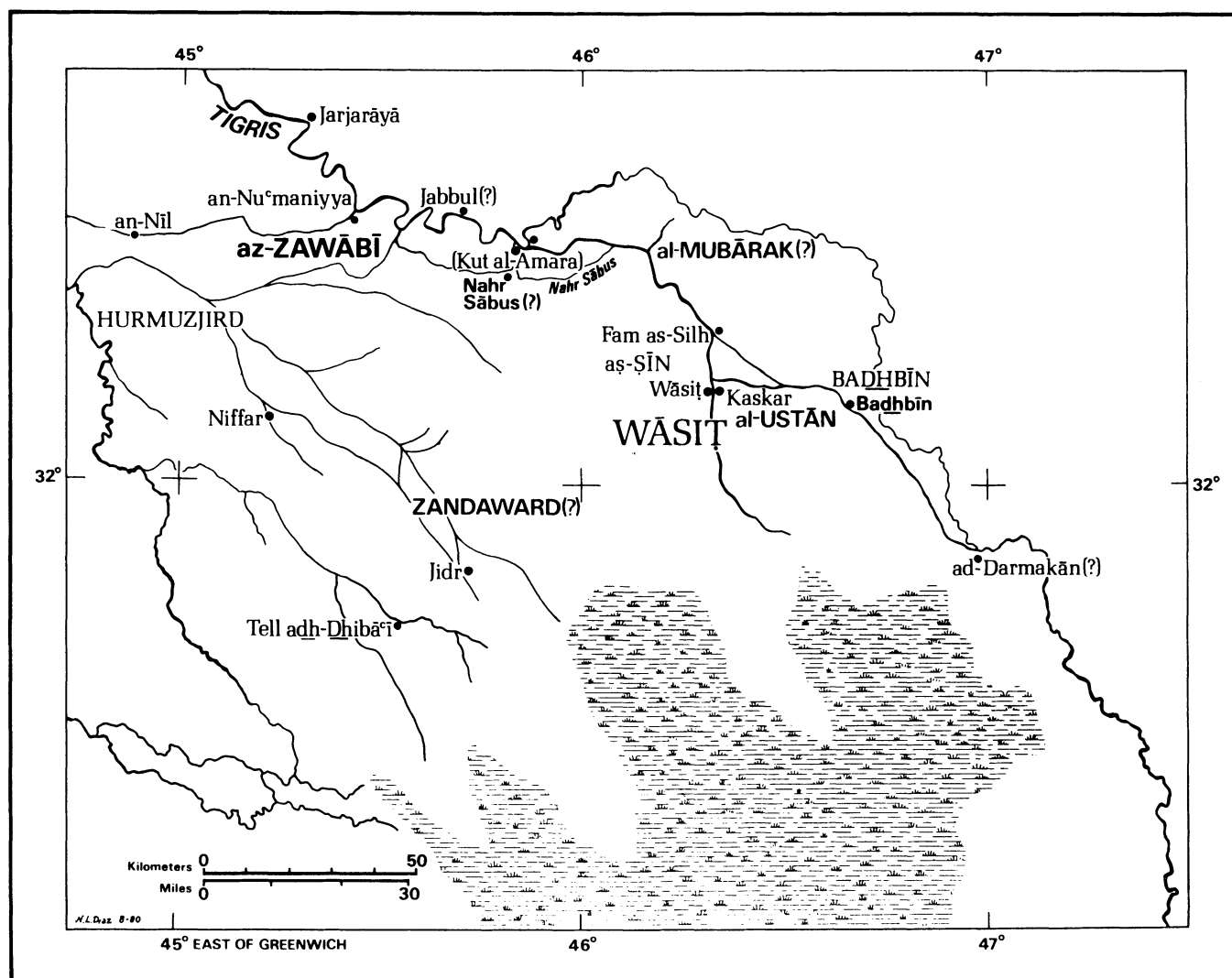


Fig. 10. Ard Kaskar.

central al-ʿIrāq for the Muslims, Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ appointed an-Nuḥmān ibn Muqarrin to collect taxes (*kharāj*) in Kaskar, where he remained until 21/642.<sup>478</sup> Alī appointed Qudāma ibn ʿAjlān as governor of Kaskar;<sup>479</sup> in 68/687 there was an ʿāmil and treasury (*bayt māl*) at Kaskar;<sup>480</sup> and Kaskar was a mint for post-reform dirhams.<sup>481</sup> There was also extensive reclamation in the region below Kaskar in the time of Muḥāwiya, where the reclaimed land became state property.

There were several important changes in the province of Kaskar under al-Ḥajjāj which were associated with the foundation of Wāsiṭ across the Tigris from the city of Kaskar in about 83/702. Al-Ḥajjāj is said to have taken the doors or gates (*abwāb*) from az-Zandaward and several other places and to have put them on the citadel and Friday *maṣjid* of Wāsiṭ.<sup>482</sup> Because of this, az-Zandaward is said to have been ruined by the creation of Wāsiṭ,<sup>483</sup> but the decline of az-Zandaward and of the region served by the late Sasanian canal system between Bābil and Kaskar is likely to have been related to al-Ḥajjāj's refusal to repair the breaches in the canals because he suspected that the local *dahāqīn* had supported the rebellion of Ibn al-Ashʿath.<sup>484</sup> It is also likely to be related to the digging of the Nīl canal by al-Ḥajjāj, which reoriented what was left of the older irrigation system northwards towards the Tigris.<sup>485</sup>

Although the district of Wāsiṭ was roughly equivalent to that of Kaskar as a local administrative division,<sup>486</sup> the city of Wāsiṭ also served as the administrative capital for the territory of al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra, which were combined to form the province of al-ʿIrāq under the Marwānīs. Wāsiṭ was a mint city for both post-reform dirhams and bronze coins.<sup>487</sup> In addition, since the dependencies of both al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra in Iran and Arabia were included in the territory under the authority of al-Ḥajjāj, Wāsiṭ was actually the administrative capital of the eastern half of the Islamic empire in the late first/early eighth century. After the foundation of Baghdād as the imperial capital by the ʿAbbāsīs, Wāsiṭ reverted to the position of a local administrative centre as Kaskar had been.

There is very little to say about the subdistricts of Kaskar/Wāsiṭ. Apart from the use of administrative terminology in stray references to particular places being *rasatīq* or *ʿmāl*, there is almost no confirmation in the form of the appointment or presence of officials at the subdistrict level. Although az-Zandaward may actually have been a subdistrict and the *tassūj* called al-Ustān is likely to have been the subdistrict of the city of Kaskar itself, there appears to be no record of local officials in these subdistricts. Sārzād, the lord (*ṣāhib*) of Bādhībīn when Muṣʿab ibn az-Zubayr was at al-Baṣra in the 60s/680s,<sup>488</sup> provides an exception which suggests both that Bādhībīn was a subdistrict of Kaskar<sup>489</sup> and that the former course of the lower Tigris was not entirely abandoned. Masʿūdī calls Bādhībīn a *madīna* with a territorial border (*ḥadd*) and says that it was one of the *ʿmāl* of Wāsiṭ.<sup>490</sup> Al-Mubāraka, which is a mint-designation on post-reform coins, may have been the place called al-Mubārak near Kaskar mentioned above.<sup>491</sup> The *rustāq* of aṣ-Ṣīn in Kaskar is likely to be no older than the Nahr Ṣīn dug by al-Ḥajjāj when he intended to settle there before the foundation of Wāsiṭ.<sup>492</sup>

Kaskar is also an example of the inconsistency of church-state administrative correspondence. It was, indeed, a Christian (later Nestorian) bishopric from 410 until the second/eighth century<sup>493</sup> which appears to correspond to the secular district of Kaskar and then of Wāsiṭ. However, beginning in 410, the bishopric of Kaskar was included in the metropolitan see of the catholicos and its bishop held the first rank after the catholicos.<sup>494</sup> This importance of the bishopric of Kaskar and its special position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy thus appears to antedate the expansion of the secular province of Kaskar by more than a century. Moreover, the bishopric of Kaskar retained its position in the hierarchy without change throughout its existence. It is worth repeating here that there is no evidence that ecclesiastical administration conformed to the Sasanian reorganization of the Sawād in the sixth century, but that it preserved the older province of Bēth Aramāyē in the form of the metropolitan see of the catholicos.<sup>495</sup> The parallel between the importance of Kaskar in the ecclesiastical hierarchy and its importance as a crown province in the late Sasanian period, and Wāsiṭ's importance as a regional capital in the second/eighth century, seems accidental. Although Kaskar serves as an example of correspondence at the bishopric/district level, it also demonstrates that this did not necessarily require correspondence between its position in the ecclesiastical and secular hierarchies.

## IX. ARD MAYSĀN

The remainder of the region of Mesene downstream from Kaskar formed the province called Mēshān in the Sasanian period (see Fig. 11). Charax, the former capital of Charcene, at the confluence of the Tigris and the Karkheh rivers survived as Karkh Maysān.<sup>496</sup> Arabic literary tradition consistently reports that Karkh Maysān was refounded by Ardashīr I as Astārābādh Ardashīr,<sup>497</sup> although there is no trace of this name so far in Sasanian inscriptions or on administrative seals. References to a *mōbadh* of Mēshān inscribed on a gem, to the Mēshān Shāh in Narseh's inscription at Paikuli<sup>498</sup> and to an *ōstāndār* of Mēshān in the Babylonian Talmud<sup>499</sup> suggest that Mēshān was used as the official name of this province in the early and middle Sasanian periods.

The change in the course of the lower Tigris and the spread of the swamps due to flooding that began in the late fifth century and was repeated in the early seventh century, turned northern and western Maysān respectively into desert or swamp and effectively reduced the remainder of Maysān to the territory along the lowest part of the old course of the Tigris (the Blind Tigris) that still carried water provided by tributaries from about al-Madhār to the estuary.<sup>500</sup>

In the reorganization of the late Sasanian period Maysān appears to have been included in the

Quarter of the South,<sup>501</sup> and the city of al-Furāt may have become the provincial capital. The Arabic tradition again provides the information that the city of Furāt Maysān, on the Tigris estuary opposite al-Ubulla, approximately ten miles from al-Baṣra, was called Bahman Ardashīr, and that Furāt al-Baṣra and Bahman Ardashīr were also designations for the same *kūra*, which extended from Wāsiṭ to al-Baṣra and included Maysān and al-Madhār.<sup>502</sup> While it is natural to suppose that al-Furāt was renamed Bahman Ardashīr by Ardashīr I, there is no evidence so far of the use of this name before the late Sasanian period. The earliest occurrence of this name for al-Furāt appears to be in the acts of the Nestorian synod of 544 which describe the bishop of Vahman Ardashīr as the metropolitan of the entire province of Mayshan,<sup>503</sup> while in the same synod Pērāth (al-Furāt) is identified as the metropolis of Mayshan.<sup>504</sup> Shādh Bahman appears to have been the real title of this *kūra*,<sup>505</sup> similar to the use of Shādh Fīrūz for the district of which Fīrūz Shāpūr (al-Anbār) was the capital, since there was no Sasanian monarch called Bahman.

The evidence provided by coins for the administrative status of al-Furāt in the late Sasanian period is inconclusive. The PR mintmark, which occurs frequently from the seventeenth year of Qubādī I (504) until the first year of Ardashīr III (628-9), has been identified as standing for al-Furāt by Göbl<sup>506</sup> and others, although Bivar<sup>507</sup> is more cautious. If this ascription is correct, these coins would confirm the importance of al-Furāt in the late Sasanian period. However, if Vahman Ardashīr was really the official name of al-Furāt in the late Sasanian period, coins struck there ought to bear mint marks reflecting the official name. Either the PR mintmark stands for some other city or Vahman Ardashīr was not the official name of al-Furāt. It is worth noting that the PR mintmark has not been found on Arab-Sasanian coins, although al-Furāt was a mint-designation for post-reform dirhams.<sup>508</sup>

The subdivisions of this *kūra* at the time of the conquest and in early Islamic administration were Bahman Ardashīr or al-Furāt, Maysān, Dast-i Maysān and Manādhīr. The subdistrict called Bahman Ardashīr was the immediate territory around the city of al-Furāt. The lord (*ṣāhib*) of al-Furāt led a force of 4,000 horsemen, but was taken prisoner by ʿUtba ibn Ghazwān during the conquest,<sup>509</sup> although the accounts of the conquest seem to indicate that al-Furāt was less important at that time than al-Ubulla or al-Madhār were. Under ʿUmar I, al-Ḥajjāj ibn ʿAtīk ath-Thaqafī was tax collector of al-Furāt,<sup>510</sup> but there is no further information on its administration until it reappears as a mint city for post-reform dirhams.

The subdistrict called Maysān was the heart of the former state of Characene around Karkh Maysān.<sup>511</sup> Although Sasanian mint marks have been tentatively identified with both Maysān and Karkh Maysān, these are mostly alternatives based on variant readings and none of them is conclusive.<sup>512</sup> It is worth noting that the Nestorian bishopric of Karkā dh<sup>c</sup> Mayshan is attested for the last time in 605 and that al-Madhār was the most important town in Maysān at the time of the conquest and in the early Islamic period. The *marzbān* of al-Madhār, who was captured and beheaded by ʿUtba ibn Ghazwān during the conquest,<sup>513</sup> may have been in charge of the entire *kūra* rather than a mere subdistrict.

Early Islamic administration in Maysān was more fiscal than military. An-Nuʿmān ibn ʿAdī was the *ʿāmil* of Maysān for ʿUmar I.<sup>514</sup> Ḥuṣayn ibn Abī l-Ḥurr is said to have been *ʿāmil* of Maysān from the time of ʿUmar I until the arrival of al-Ḥajjāj.<sup>515</sup> Both Maysān<sup>516</sup> and al-Madhār<sup>517</sup> were mint-designations for post-reform dirhams.

Although both Ibn Khurradādhbih<sup>518</sup> and Yāqūt<sup>519</sup> identify Dast-i Maysān as al-Ubulla, this subdistrict appears actually to have been located along the old course of the Tigris above al-Madhār and in the plain (*dasht*) stretching to the border of Khūzistān.<sup>520</sup> According to Ibn Rustah, ʿAbdasī, located on the old Tigris above al-Madhār, was one of the *kuwar* of Dast-i Maysān.<sup>521</sup> The sequence of ʿUtba ibn Ghazwān's conquest of Maysān from al-Ubulla to al-Furāt to al-Madhār to Dast-i Maysān<sup>522</sup> also suggests a location of Dast-i Maysān to the north of al-Madhār in the first/seventh century. At the time of the conquest, Dast-i Maysān was defended by a *marzbān*, and after defeating him ʿUtba left his own lieutenant there.<sup>523</sup> ʿUtba is also said to have put Sulmā ibn al-Qayn in charge of Manādhīr and put Ḥarmala over Nahr Tīrā.<sup>524</sup> Shortly afterwards, Jaz' ibn Muʿāwiya was responsible for collecting tribute in Manādhīr and Dast-i Maysān in the time of ʿUmar I,<sup>525</sup> and ʿĀṣim ibn Qays as-Sulamī was also tax-collector at Manādhīr under ʿUmar.<sup>526</sup> The DShT mintmark which occurs on Arab-Sasanian coins from 52/672 until 67/686 without any known Sasanian precedents is likely to stand for Dasht-i

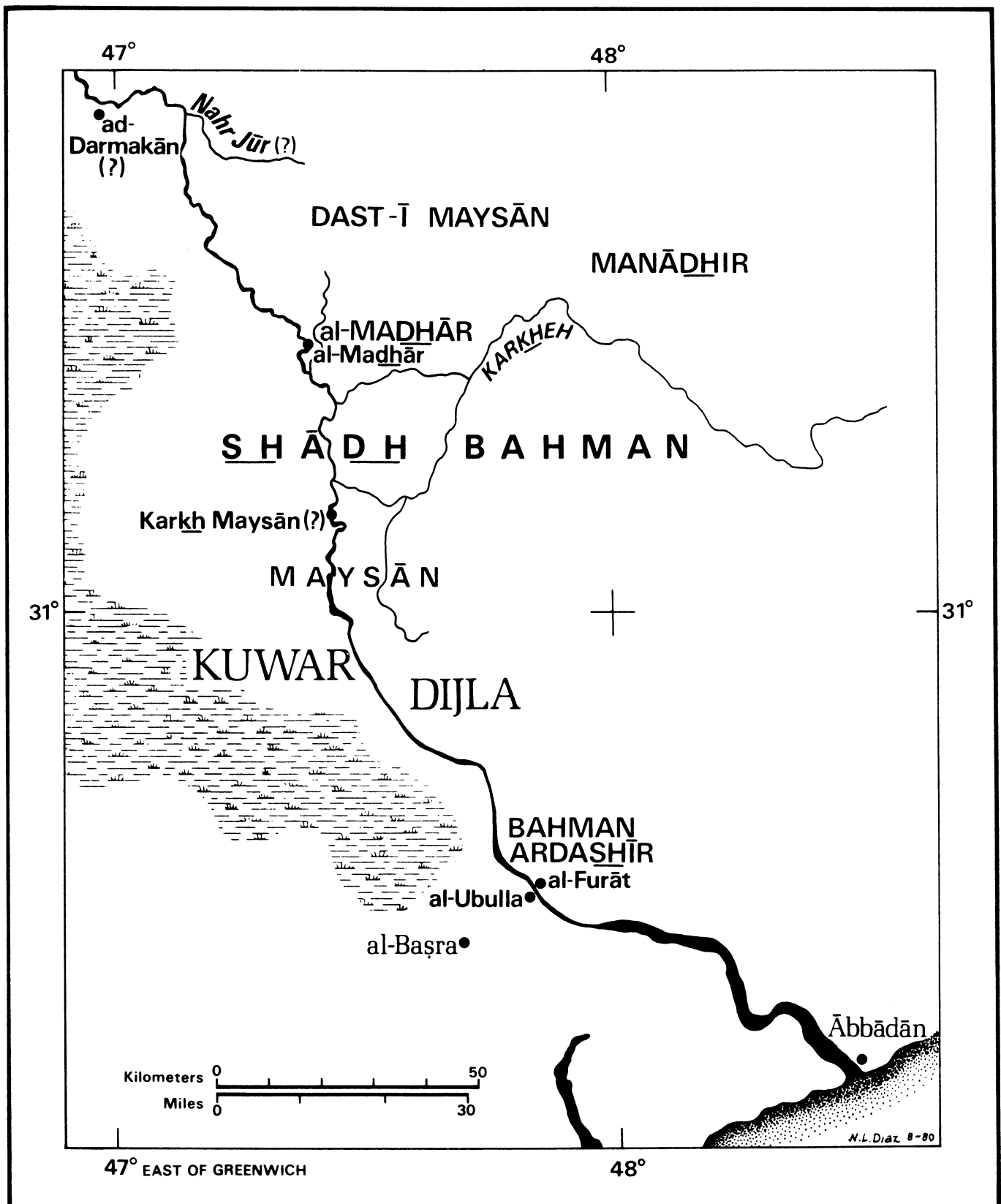


Fig. 11. Ard Maysān.

Maysān, since they were struck by Ziyād, ʿUbaydallāh ibn Ziyād and Muṣʿab ibn az-Zubayr.<sup>527</sup> Dasht-i Maysān appears as a mint for post-reform dirhams only in the year 80/699-700, followed by Manādhīr from 81/700 until 96/714.<sup>528</sup> If Dast-i Maysān was really located where it seems to have been, this evidence for its administration in the first century after the conquest suggests that this region was not entirely or immediately ruined and abandoned by the shift in the course of the lower Tigris in the late Sasanian period.

This configuration of subdistricts survived in the early Islamic period as the Kūra (or Kuwar) Dijla along the Blind Tigris. It is identified as the *kūra* of Shādh Bahman by Ibn Khurradādhbih and Yāqūt, in spite of tendencies to define the Kūra Dijla as extending upstream beyond Wāsiṭ which would equate it with the old Maysān just as Kaskar tended to be.<sup>529</sup> Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī is supposed to have established the districts of Kuwar Dijla when he was governor of al-Baṣra (16/637-8), and to have ordered a cadastral survey and levied taxes there.<sup>530</sup> An-Nuʿmān ibn ʿAdī was a tax collector in the Kuwar Dijla in the time of ʿUmar I.<sup>531</sup> Kuwar Dijla was a distinct administrative unit for listing tax returns during the caliphate of Muʿāwiya, and in 65/684 al-Muhallab provisioned his forces by collecting the taxes of Kuwar Dijla.<sup>532</sup>

Al-Ubulla, on the right bank of the Tigris estuary opposite al-Furāt, was the major port for the Indian trade in both the Sasanian and Islamic periods as well as being the anchor for the southeastern end of the Sasanian desert frontier defences. In the late sixth century, al-Ubulla was part of the kingdom of the Banū Lakhm, and an-Nuʿmān ibn al-Mundhir is said to have appointed Sinān ibn Mālīk as governor there. Sinān is also said to have been the *ʿāmil* for Khusraw Parvīz,<sup>533</sup> who also put Qays ibn Masʿūd ash-Shaybānī in charge of the frontier oases (Ṭaff al-Ubulla) to keep pastoralists from raiding the Sawād.<sup>534</sup> At the time of Khālīd's raid in 12/633, the Persian general Hurmuz was in command at al-Ubulla and over the frontier.<sup>535</sup> After defeating him, Khālīd is said to have divided the *sawād* of al-Ubulla among four of his subordinates and to have left Shurayḥ ibn ʿĀmir in charge of al-Khurayba at the future site of al-Basra.<sup>536</sup>

Islamic administration at al-Ubulla during the first/seventh century appears to have been more fiscal than military, and was concerned with collecting the taxes on the Indian trade. Responsibility for collecting the customs at al-Ubulla was assigned to the person in charge of the treasury at Baṣra in the time of ʿUmar I.<sup>537</sup> Anas ibn Mālīk is supposed to have appointed Anas ibn Sīrīn over al-Ubulla when he was in charge of al-Baṣra for Ibn az-Zubayr.<sup>538</sup> Later, Abū l-Malīḥ al-Hudhalī was *ʿāmil* of al-Ubulla.<sup>539</sup>

Although al-Baṣra was founded by the Muslims at the site of abandoned Persian frontier posts in 16 or 17/637-9,<sup>540</sup> this new city more than replaced the local administrative centres in its vicinity. In the early Islamic period, al-Baṣra was a regional capital for those parts of southern and eastern Iran that were conquered by the Baṣran army as well as for eastern Arabia. Mujāshīʿ ibn Masʿūd was in charge of the taxes paid by Muslims (*ṣadaqa*) in Arḍ al-Baṣra in the time of ʿUmar I.<sup>541</sup> At that point, this territory amounted to Maysān and Khūzistān. In the caliphate of Muʿāwiya the taxes of Nihāwand (Māh al-Baṣra) were also assigned to al-Baṣra.<sup>542</sup> Although the Sawād of al-Baṣra included the territory around al-Ubulla, the Kuwar Dijla and Khūzistān, as a regional capital al-Baṣra was much more important than al-Ubulla, al-Furāt or al-Madhār had been. It is worth noting, however, that the division of lower al-ʿIrāq between the Sawād of al-Kūfa and the Sawād of al-Baṣra at the border between the *kūra* of Kaskar and the *kūra* of Maysān/Kuwar Dijla may have preserved the former border between the late Sasanian quarters of the West and the South.

Nevertheless, the ultimate effect of the Muslim conquest, in terms of administrative geography, was to break up the former Sasanian quarters and to reconstitute the older province of Asōristān in the form of the Islamic province of al-ʿIrāq. This began in the caliphate of Muʿāwiya when the governorship of al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa with their territories was combined in the person of Ziyād from 49/669 until 53/673.<sup>543</sup> The unification under Ziyād was incomplete to the extent that al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa remained twin capitals, but this combination was repeated by ʿUbaydallāh ibn Ziyād under Yazīd I (60-64/680-83) and by Muṣʿab ibn az-Zubayr during the later years of the second *fitna*. The survival of older administrative divisions during this transformation is illustrated by a tax schedule from the caliphate of Muʿāwiya which lists the amount of taxes collected in the separate districts of the Sawād,

the Kuwar Dijla, al-Mawṣil, Ḥulwān, and the combined territory of Māh al-Kūfa and Māh al-Baṣra.<sup>544</sup> The reorganization was only completed in the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik by the permanent detachment of al-Mawṣil and the complete unification of al-ʿIrāq as a province with Wāsiṭ as its capital. This lasted only until the end of the Marwānī period,<sup>545</sup> however, and under the ʿAbbāsīs the government of al-ʿIrāq was divided among local centres.

Judging by the large number of surviving coins, al-Baṣra was also the most important mint city in early Islamic al-ʿIrāq. Arab-Sasanian coins with the new BJRA mintmark were struck there as early as 29/649-50 and continuously from 53/673 until 74/694.<sup>546</sup> Post-reform dirhams were struck there from 79/698.<sup>547</sup>

Ecclesiastical administration in Maysān appears to parallel the secular jurisdiction in the middle and late Sasanian periods, but it underwent changes at the very end of the Sasanian period and in the early Islamic period that seem to have been due as much to the change in the course of the lower Tigris as to the shift of the political centre of this region to al-Baṣra. The metropolitan bishopric (later Nestorian) of Mayshan is attested nearly continuously from the fourth century until the late second/early ninth century.<sup>548</sup> By 410 P<sup>er</sup>āth dh<sup>e</sup> Mayshan was the metropolitan see of Mayshan with suffragan bishops at Karkhā, Rīmā and N<sup>eh</sup>argūr.<sup>549</sup> The metropolitanate remained at P<sup>er</sup>āth for the rest of the Sasanian period<sup>550</sup> and into the Islamic period, at least until the time of the catholicos ʾIshōʿyahbh III (29-38/648-58).<sup>551</sup> By the end of the first/seventh century, the importance of P<sup>er</sup>āth for the Nestorians was beginning to be replaced by al-Baṣra. In a letter to the Christians of P<sup>er</sup>āth, Baṣra and Ubulla, the catholicos H<sup>en</sup>anīshōʿ (67-74/686-96) refers to the local metropolitan.<sup>552</sup> A century later, in 174/790, the metropolitanate of P<sup>er</sup>āth dh<sup>e</sup> Mayshan was identified as Baṣra.<sup>553</sup> Either the metropolitan had moved to al-Baṣra by then but continued to use the former designation of the metropolitanate, or else the metropolitan remained at P<sup>er</sup>āth and his jurisdiction came to be defined in terms of the territory immediately dependent on the Islamic capital. In view of the obscurity and apparent decline of al-Furāt in the early Islamic period, the first possibility seems to be most likely and would parallel the gradual relocation of the metropolitan of Adiabene at al-Mawṣil.

Only one of the three Nestorian bishoprics in Maysān appears to have corresponded to a secular Sasanian subdistrict with any certainty, and none of them survived into the Islamic period. The bishopric of Karkhā dh<sup>e</sup> Mayshan, which is attested from the fourth century until 605,<sup>554</sup> was identified with the former capital of Maysān and the subdistrict around it. Nothing is heard of it after 605.

Although the bishopric of N<sup>eh</sup>argūr, attested fairly regularly from 410 until 605,<sup>555</sup> is probably to be identified with Nahr Jūr on the old course of the lower Tigris between al-Madhār and ad-Darmakān,<sup>556</sup> it does not correspond to any known Sasanian secular subdistrict<sup>557</sup> and disappeared after 605. A bishop of N<sup>eh</sup>argūr is attested in 612 and under the catholicos Mār Ammeh (23-5/644-6), but in neither instance is there any indication of where N<sup>eh</sup>argūr was.<sup>558</sup> Even if N<sup>eh</sup>argūr is to be identified with N<sup>eh</sup>argūr as it usually is, that would only extend the survival of this bishopric to about the middle of the first/seventh century.<sup>559</sup> Although Fiey's suggestion that this bishopric was replaced by the bishopric of ʿAbdasī, which is attested in 174/790 and in about 215/830, is attractive, this would further undermine assumptions about ecclesiastical-secular administrative correspondence, because ʿAbdasī was located in Dast-i Maysān but its bishopric was included in the see of the catholicos.<sup>560</sup>

The remaining bishopric of Rīmā, which is attested regularly from 410 until 605,<sup>561</sup> may have been located in northwest Maysān. Ṭabarī reports that the city called Shādh Sābūr which Shāpūr I built in Maysān was called Dīmā in Nabaṭī.<sup>562</sup> Fiey's suggestion that Rīmā is to be identified as Shādh Sābūr<sup>563</sup> is at least plausible, since a change from *r* to *d* is an easy and common orthographic mistake in both Syriac and Arabic. However, such an identification creates problems because the *kūra* of Shādh Sābūr is also identified as the district of Kaskar, which was an important contemporary bishopric. If Rīmā corresponded to the small district of Shādh Sābūr in the fifth century and then survived as a bishopric after the Sasanian reorganization in the sixth century, this would provide yet another example of the failure of the Nestorians to adjust their ecclesiastical structure to the sixth-century changes in the Sasanian administration. The bishopric of Rīmā would then have been in the secular province of Kaskar but subordinate to the metropolitan of Maysān. Wherever it was, the bishopric of Rīmā disappeared after 605.

Changes in the ecclesiastical structure of Maysān resulted from a combination of ecological and political factors. The change in the course of the lower Tigris itself is the logical and most obvious explanation for the disappearance of the bishoprics of Rīmā, N<sup>c</sup>hargūr, and possibly even Karkhā dh<sup>e</sup> Maysan after 605, although the metropolitanate ultimately gravitated to the new political centre of al-Baṣra.

## X. CONCLUSIONS

It should have become evident that it is far too simplistic and static to discuss continuity and change in the administrative jurisdictions of al-<sup>c</sup>Irāq merely in terms of whether or not the Muslim Arabs preserved the existing structure of Sasanian administration. The late Sasanian system appears to have been constantly shifting and readjusting with the formation and reorganization of units by succeeding rulers, culminating in the reorganization by Khusraw Parvīz which produced the provincial units in existence at the time of the conquest.

On the whole, changes in the administrative structure due to the conquest were greatest at the upper levels of the hierarchy. The Sasanian Quarter of the West was dismembered and the Sasanian system of imperial quarters never served as a basis for Islamic administration. The shape of major configurations in early Islamic administration in al-<sup>c</sup>Irāq was determined by accidents of conquest, such as the direction from which Sasanian provinces were conquered and the extent of territory that was occupied by separate Muslim forces. Although Arbāyestān survived as a unit with its districts, this entire province was attached to the Jazīra and eventually several districts were included in it which had formerly been part of Byzantine Mesopotamia.

After the battle of Nihāwand in 21/642, the territory of al-Kūfa and its dependencies briefly equalled the Sasanian Quarter of the West in its extent minus Arbāyestān, which is the closest the Quarter of the West came to surviving in Islamic administration. By the end of the first/seventh century, al-Mawṣil had been detached from it, and the older province of Asōristān had been reconstituted in the form of the Islamic province of al-<sup>c</sup>Irāq. The territory of al-Basra and its dependencies combined Maysān and Khuzistān with much of the Iranian plateau which was conquered by Baṣran forces, although the distinction between the Sawād of al-Basra and that of al-Kūfa may have preserved the former border between the Sasanian quarters of the South and of the West.

At the other end of the scale, changes in the administrative structure related to changes in river and canal courses, flooding and redevelopment were greatest at the lowest level of the hierarchy, where a subdistrict often consisted of the territory along a canal, and in the region along the lower courses of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, where such changes were the greatest in this period.

The greatest degree of continuity appears to have been at the intermediate level of the district (*kūra*), where the Sasanian names survived. However, the appearance of continuity at the district level is somewhat illusory because of changes in the larger units to which they belonged and in the smaller units which composed them. Some districts do not appear to have functioned immediately after the conquest, such as those in Arḍ Jūkhā or the district of Behrasīr. In this part of al-<sup>c</sup>Irāq there is better evidence for the survival of subdistricts with their local officials. Such districts appear to have been revived or reconstituted in the early Islamic period, Behrasīr by the time of <sup>c</sup>Alī, and Shādh Qubādh/Jalūlā' by the late first/seventh century.

Continuity might also be measured in the degree to which early Islamic administration in al-<sup>c</sup>Irāq was hierarchic. It appears, in fact, to have been highly hierarchic, especially in Arḍ al-Kūfa, with many of the subordinate units inherited from the Sasanians. But the shape of this hierarchy was different; it was organized in a different way; and its subordination to al-Kūfa instead of to al-Madā'in reversed the Sasanian organization.

There was also continuity in the preservation of the military nature of certain frontier districts such as al-Anbār and <sup>c</sup>Ayn at-Tamr under the Muslims. But the emergence of Ḥulwān as a military centre appears to be new in the Islamic period and to have resulted from the way in which the conquest shifted the important defensive frontier from southwestern al-<sup>c</sup>Irāq against the Arabs to the northeast against the Iranian plateau. Sasanian administration appears to have been military in Maysān and

Dast-i Maysān at the time of the conquest but was more fiscal under the Muslims, although the administration of districts such as Kaskar seems to have been mainly fiscal under both régimes.

It is worth noting here that much of the information about the subdistricts of the Sawād and the officials in charge of them is specific to the moment of conquest and may not apply very much earlier or later than that. The mere listing of these subdistricts by the geographers does not prove that they survived and were used in later periods, in the absence of confirmation from other sources. In this context, it seems significant that Yāqūt's description of many places includes stories only about the Muslim conquest.

The discrepancies between the picture of early Islamic administrative geography in al-ʿIrāq that has been reconstructed here and the schematic descriptions provided by Ibn Khurradādhbih and Qudāma (and quoted by Yāqūt) raise questions about the provenience of those descriptions. They are supposed to describe the Sasanian organization that was still in use in the ʿAbbāsī period, complete with the amount of taxes that was due from each district, but it is unclear now to which period this information belongs. The information provided by Ibn Khurradādhbih should probably not be used as the basis of arguments for ʿAbbāsī administrative organization or economy without verifying it from other sources for that period.

Finally, it is possible to deal with the question of ecclesiastical-secular correspondence in administrative organization. Bishoprics were most likely to correspond to secular administration at the district and province level where their administrative centres coincided at capital cities such as Naṣībīn, al-Ḥadītha, al-Anbār, al-Ḥīra and Kaskar. But such correspondence was prevented from being exact or complete in two important ways. First, metropolitanates were not necessarily co-extensive with secular districts or provinces, but might be smaller or have their bishoprics cross the boundaries of secular provinces. Second, the position and importance of a city such as Takrīt or Kaskar in the ecclesiastical hierarchy did not necessarily correspond to its position in the secular hierarchy. The basic structure of the metropolitanates as it was formed in the fifth century may have corresponded to secular government in the fifth century, but it proved to be remarkably conservative compared to secular administration. There is no evidence that the ecclesiastical structure was modified to conform to the sixth-century Sasanian reforms, although it might have been if the Sasanian state had lasted longer. It took almost 150 years for it to be adjusted to the new realities of Islamic administrative organization. Changes in the ecclesiastical structure, such as the appearance of new bishoprics in the late Sasanian and early Islamic periods and the disappearance of several bishoprics after 605, are more likely to reflect the spread of Christianity, the conflict between Nestorians and Monophysites, and ecological changes than to be adjustments to changes in secular administration.

<sup>1</sup> Masʿūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbih wa-l-ishrāf* (Beirut, 1965), p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Khurradādhbih, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik* (Leiden, 1889), pp. 5–8.

<sup>3</sup> J. Obermeyer, *Die Landschaft Babylonien im Zeitalter des Talmuds und des Gaonats* (Frankfurt a. M., 1929), p. 76.

<sup>4</sup> G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 80–1.

<sup>5</sup> The text of the *Shatrōihā-i Ērānshahr* may be found in J. Jamasp Asana, *Pahlavi Texts*, I (Bombay, 1897), 18–24. There are translations and commentaries by J. J. Modi, "The cities of Iran as described in the old Pahlavi Treatise of Shatrōihā-i Airān," *JBBRAS*, XX, 156–90; and J. Markwart, *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Ērānshahr* (Rome, 1931).

<sup>6</sup> F. D. J. Paruck, "Mint-marks on Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian coins," *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, VI (1944), 83. Although the earliest known mint-marks occur on the coins of Bahrām IV (388–99) at the end of the fourth century, they only came into general use on the coins of Firūz I (459–84).

<sup>7</sup> Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh ar-rusul wa-l-mulūk* (Leiden, 1879), I, 2371.

<sup>8</sup> F. D. J. Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins* (Bombay, 1924), p. 126.

<sup>9</sup> J. Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sasanian Coins* (London, 1941).

<sup>10</sup> O. Blau, "Istandara de Mēscho. Ein Beitrag zur Münztopo-

graphie der Sassaniden," *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, IX (1877), 177–8.

<sup>11</sup> Paruck, "Mint-marks," p. 81.

<sup>12</sup> A. D. H. Bivar, "A Sasanian hoard from Hilla," *Numismatic Chronicle* (1963), 160.

<sup>13</sup> R. Göbl, "Der Sasanidische Münzfund von Seleukia (Vēh-Ardašēr) 1967," *Mesopotamia*, VIII–IX (1973–74), 240.

<sup>14</sup> Bivar, *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum, Stamp Seals, II the Sasanian Dynasty* (London, 1969), p. 29; R. N. Frye, "Die Legenden auf Sassanidischen Siegelabdrucken," *WZKM*, LVI (1960), 33–4; idem, "Sasanian Seal Inscriptions," *Festschrift Franz Altheim, Beiträge zur alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben*, II (Berlin, 1970), 79–80.

<sup>15</sup> The work of Miles and others on Islamic commodity seals and weights concerns Egypt. Third/ninth century Arabic administrative seal impressions in the Sasanian style that have been discovered at Sirāf remain unpublished. See R. N. Frye, "Sasanian Seals and Sealings," *Mémoires de Mésopotamie* (Louvain, 1974), pp. 159–60.

<sup>16</sup> Frye, "Sasanian Clay Sealings in the Collection of Mohsen Foroughi," *Iranica Antiqua*, III (1968), 129; idem, "Sasanian Seal Inscriptions," p. 79.

- <sup>17</sup> J. B. Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale* (Paris, 1902), pp. 32, 271.
- <sup>18</sup> M. Streck, *El'art*. "Maisân."
- <sup>19</sup> H. Schaeder, "Hasan al-Baṣrī," *Der Islam*, XIV (1925), 29–37.
- <sup>20</sup> J. M. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne* (Beirut, 1968), III, 181.
- <sup>21</sup> J. Newman, *The Agricultural Life of the Jews in Babylonia* (London, 1932), p. 169.
- <sup>22</sup> Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 40.
- <sup>23</sup> Al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Kitāb Masālik al-mamālik* (Leiden, 1927), pp. 78–9; Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 36: Qazwīnī, *Athār al-bilād* (Göttingen, 1848), p. 280.
- <sup>24</sup> M. Gibson, *The city and area of Kish* (Miami, 1972), p. 15.
- <sup>25</sup> Ibn Rustah, *al-A'lāq an-naḥṣa* (Leiden, 1891), pp. 104–5.
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 104. Sūristān is also identified with the Sawād and distinguished from al-Mawṣil in Ṭabarī, I, 819. Mas'ūdī (*Tanbih*, p. 38) gives nearly the same limits for the Sawād, and Ibn al-Faqīh (*Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Bulḍān*, Leiden, 1885, p. 163) says that the location (*mauḍū'*) of al-Kūfa used to be Sūristān.
- <sup>27</sup> Ibn Rustah, p. 104. Ibn Khurradādhbih (p. 51) identifies Dil-i Irānshahr with the Sawād, and Mas'ūdī (*Tanbih*, p. 36) says that the Sawād was called *lubb Irānshahr*.
- <sup>28</sup> L. Dillemann, "Ammien Marcellin et les pays de l'Euphrate et du Tigre," *Syria*, XXXVIII (1961), 139–41.
- <sup>29</sup> Chabot, "Le livre de la chasteté composé par Jésusdenah, évêque de Baḡra," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, XVI, 8, 12, 233, 236.
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 247.
- <sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 61, 275.
- <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 43, 261.
- <sup>33</sup> O. Braun, *Ausgewählte Akten persischer Märtyrer* (Munich, 1915), p. 146.
- <sup>34</sup> G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer* (Leipzig, 1880), p. 38.
- <sup>35</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 532–3; A. Scher, "Histoire nestorienne (Chronique de Séert)" II (1), *Patrologia Orientalis*, VII, fasc. 2 (Paris, 1950), 129.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 154. He was stationed at Rādhān. There are also references to the finance director or tax collector of Bēth Aramayē in the early sixth century (Braun, p. 191), and to a *radh* and a *mōbadh* of Bēth Aramayē in the time of Khusraw Anūshirwān (Braun, pp. 200–2; Hoffmann, pp. 81, 88).
- <sup>37</sup> Dīnawarī, *Kitāb al-Akhbār at-ṭiwāl* (Leiden, 1912), p. 57.
- <sup>38</sup> E. G. Browne, "Some account of the Arabic work entitled 'Nihāyatu'l-irab fi akhbārī'l Furs wa'l-'Arab,'" particularly of that part which treats of the Persian Empire," *JRAS* (1900), 195.
- <sup>39</sup> F. Baethgen, *Fragmente syrischer und arabischer Historiker* (Leipzig, 1884), pp. 26, 35; Eliae Metropolitae Nisibeni, *Opus Chronologicum*, I, CSCO, LXII, *Scriptores Syri*, XXI (Louvain, 1954), 55, 142; tr. Brooks, CSCO, LXIII, *Scriptores Syri*, XXIII, 31, 69.
- <sup>40</sup> L. Dillemann, *Haute Mésopotamie orientale et pays adjacents* (Paris, 1962), 114.
- <sup>41</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 53, 90, 300, 345. In the synod of 544, Seleucia and Ctesiphon are called the capital cities of Bēth Aramayē (*ibid.*, pp. 70, 320).
- <sup>42</sup> Procopius, *History of the Wars* (London, 1914), II. xiv. 1; xix. 11–16; xxviii. 4. Otherwise, the usage of Procopius is rather vague and, in 531, he has al-Mundhir crossing the Euphrates river from Assyria to invade Commagene (I. xviii. 2).
- <sup>43</sup> Dīnawarī, p. 69; Tha'ālībī, *Ghurar akhbār mulūk al-furs wa-siyaruhum*, ed. and tr. H. Zotenberg, *Histoire des rois des Perses* (Paris, 1900), p. 609.
- <sup>44</sup> Mas'ūdī, *Murūj adh-dhahab* (Beirut, 1966), I, 319, calls him the *marzbān* of the West. He appears to have been succeeded by Pustarrūkh in the reign of Būrān (Ṭabarī, I, 1064).
- <sup>45</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 1002.
- <sup>46</sup> A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sasanides* (Copenhagen, 1944), pp. 123, 451; Fiey, III, 23–5.
- <sup>47</sup> I. Guidi, "Chronica Minora I," "CSCO, I, *Scriptores Syri*, I, 23; CSCO, II, *Scriptores Syri*, II, 21.
- <sup>48</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 1060.
- <sup>49</sup> T. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden* (Leiden, 1879), pp. 383–4.
- <sup>50</sup> A. Scher, "Histoire nestorienne (Chronique de Séert)" II (2), *Patrologia Orientalis*, XIII, fasc. 4 (Paris, 1919), 458, 524–5.
- <sup>51</sup> Dīnawarī, p. 68; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* (Leiden, 1883), I, 186.
- <sup>52</sup> Christensen, p. 40.
- <sup>53</sup> R. H. Hewsen, *Introduction to the study of Armenian Historical Geography* (unpublished Ph.D. diss., Georgetown University, 1967), pp. 2–3, 152, 296; J. Marquart, "Erānshahr nach der Geographie der Ps. Moses Xorenac'i," *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse*, Series 2, III, no. 2 (1899–1901), 8, 16. Marquart was also able to find Arzōn in the name "Mayjīnesteh" which appears in this list.
- <sup>54</sup> Marquart, pp. 16, 22–3.
- <sup>55</sup> Hewsen, p. 300.
- <sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 296, 301.
- <sup>57</sup> Markwart, *Catalogue*, pp. 13–16. This text also puts "Asōr the capital of Vēh-Artakhshīr," and Eran-asan-kart-Kavat in the quarter of the South and lists Baghdād in the quarter of the North (*ibid.*, pp. 21, 23, 105). There is no clear indication of which quarter contained Maysān, and even if the city of Ashkar which is listed in the quarter of the South is to be identified as Kaskar (*ibid.*, p. 22) this is hardly conclusive, because other cities are listed in the quarter of the South which were really in the quarter of the West.
- <sup>58</sup> Ibn Rustah, p. 105.
- <sup>59</sup> Christensen, p. 140; E. Ebeling, "Das aramäisch-mittel-persische Glossar Frahang-i Pahlavik im Lichte der assyriologischen Forschung" *Mitteilungen der altorientalischen Gesellschaft*, XIV (Leipzig, 1941), p. 9; F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period* (Copenhagen, 1950), p. 164; Nöldeke, pp. 446–8; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, I, 203. R. Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia* (London, 1975), p. 10, gives a slightly different description, and according to Ḥamza al-Ḥṣāhānī the Persians used *kūra* for part of an *ustān*, and it was the Arabs who used it as the equivalent of an *ustān* (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-bulḍān*, Leipzig, 1886, I, 39).
- <sup>60</sup> Løkkegaard, p. 164. *Tasōk* means "one quarter" and was also used for the subdivisions of the city of Nishapur (Frye, "Foroughi," pp. 122, 131; idem, "Sasanian Seal Inscriptions," pp. 80–1). Blau (p. 276) attempted to derive it from the Greek *taxeis*.
- <sup>61</sup> Dīnawarī, p. 228; Ebeling, p. 9; Ṭabarī, I, 2165–6.
- <sup>62</sup> A. Berliner, *Beiträge zur Geographie und Ethnographie Babylonien im Talmud und Midrasch* (Berlin, 1884), p. 47; F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, *Ein Asiatischer Staat* (Wiesbaden, 1954), p. 7.
- <sup>63</sup> Løkkegaard, pp. 165–6. Løkkegaard (p. 164) says that a *ṭassūj* was divided into *rasātīq*, but Frye (*Golden Age*, pp. 10, 108) says that a *nāḥiya/rustāq* might be divided into *ṭasāsīj*, which goes back to the account of Ḥamza cited by Yāqūt to the effect that each *kūra* was divided into *rasātīq*, each *rustāq* into *ṭasāsīj*, and each *ṭasāsīj* into a number of villages. Mas'ūdī (*Tanbih*, p. 40) equates a *ṭassūj* with a *nāḥiya*.
- <sup>64</sup> Christensen, p. 140.
- <sup>65</sup> Dilleman, p. 114; Hoffmann, pp. 22–4.
- <sup>66</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 33, 272. The bishopric of Bēth Mōksayē is attested only once more in 424 (*ibid.*, pp. 43, 285).
- <sup>67</sup> Before 637 Quriāqōs the metropolitan of Naṣībīn appointed a bishop for the see of Balad (J.-M. Fiey, "Balad et le Beth 'Arbayē irakien," *L'Orient syrien*, IX (1964), 197).
- <sup>68</sup> Scher, II (2), 553.
- <sup>69</sup> According to Ya'qūbī, *Les pays*, tr. Wiet (Cairo, 1937), p. 229, Arabs of the tribe of Rabī'a were already inhabiting [the province of] Naṣībīn at the time of the Muslim conquest.
- <sup>70</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 2507.
- <sup>71</sup> Balādhurī, *Fuḥūḥ al-bulḍān* (Leiden, 1886), pp. 177, 333; Ṭabarī, I, 2506; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 172.
- <sup>72</sup> Ibn Rustah (p. 107) lists Arzan, Qardā, Bāzabdā, Balad and Naṣībīn among the *kuwar* of al-Jazīra.
- <sup>73</sup> Scher, II (2), 626.
- <sup>74</sup> Agapius of Manbij, "Kitāb al-'Unvan," ed. Vasiliev, *Patrologia*

- Orientalis*, VIII (Paris, 1912), 452.
- <sup>75</sup> Tabarī, I, 2812.
- <sup>76</sup> Ibn Khurradādhbih, p. 95.
- <sup>77</sup> Fiey, "Balad," p. 210; F. Nau, "Histories d'Aḥoudemmeh et de Marouta, metropolitains jacobites de Tagrit et de l'orient," *Patrologia Orientalis*, III (Paris, 1909), 10, 19–20, 54.
- <sup>78</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 526–9, 532–7; Scher, II (1), 176.
- <sup>79</sup> Hoffmann, pp. 94–5.
- <sup>80</sup> Scher, II (2), 515.
- <sup>81</sup> C. Brockelmann, *Syrische Grammatik, Chrestomathie* (Berlin, 1899), p. 56.
- <sup>82</sup> Guidi, I, 31; II, 26; Nöldeke, "Die von Guidi herausgegebene syrische Chronik," *Sitzungsber. der Phil. Hist. Cl. der Kaiserl. Akad. der Wiss. zu Wien*, CXXVII (1893), 34.
- <sup>83</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 178.
- <sup>84</sup> A. Mingana, *Sources syriaques* (Leipzig, 1908), I, 183–4.
- <sup>85</sup> Tabarī, II, 716.
- <sup>86</sup> C. E. Sachau, *Syrische Rechtsbücher* (Berlin, 1907), II, pp. xiii–xiv.
- <sup>87</sup> H. Lavoix, *Catalogue des manuscrits musulmans de la Bibliothèque nationale: Khalifes orientaux* (Paris, 1887), p. 404.
- <sup>88</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 19, 42–3, 53, 62, 66–8, 90, 108–9, 256–7, 283–5, 300, 310–11, 315–17, 345, 366–7, 608; Eliae Metropolitae Nisibeni, XXI, 153, XXIII, 74; Guidi, I, 31, 34, II, 26, 28; Scher, II (1), 171, 180, 187, 194; Thomas of Marghā, *the Book of the Governors: The Historia Monastica of Thomas Bishop of Margā* (London, 1893), I, 81–2; II, 181–2.
- <sup>89</sup> Dillemann, pp. 121–3.
- <sup>90</sup> Brockelmann, p. 56.
- <sup>91</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 36, 43, 62, 109, 274, 285, 311, 367.
- <sup>92</sup> Scher, II (2), 438.
- <sup>93</sup> Nau, p. 54; Scher, II (2), 543.
- <sup>94</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 603, 608. Gabriel of Qōbhē dh<sup>c</sup> Ārzōn signed the synod of 174/790 in the list of bishops, but the text does not actually say that he was a bishop.
- <sup>95</sup> Dillemann, pp. 110, 112. His explanation that Qardō lay on both sides of the Tigris with Bēth Zabhdē in the middle hardly seems to correspond to the descriptions available in the sources.
- <sup>96</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 43, 109, 214, 285, 367, 478; Scher, II (1), 187. There is also a reference to the Nestorian bishop of Mt. Qardō in the late sixth century in E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Histories of Rabban Hōrmīzād the Persian and Rabban Bar-Idtā* (London, 1902), I, 37, II, 55.
- <sup>97</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-ard* (Leiden, 1938–9), p. 217.
- <sup>98</sup> Yāqūt, I, 466, IV, 56.
- <sup>99</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 62, 66–8, 310–11, 315–17.
- <sup>100</sup> Scher, II (2), 517.
- <sup>101</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 217.
- <sup>102</sup> Yāqūt, I, 466, IV, 56.
- <sup>103</sup> Nau, p. 54.
- <sup>104</sup> Yāqūt, I, 715, Yāqūt (III, 339) also identifies Shāhrabādh as the name of a city in the Sawād (*ard Bābil*) associated with Abraham.
- <sup>105</sup> Hoffmann, p. 97.
- <sup>106</sup> Fiey, "Balad," p. 196; Scher, II (2), 554.
- <sup>107</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 62, 66–8, 108–9, 310–11, 315–17, 366–7, 608; Fiey, "Balad," pp. 193–7, 200; Guidi, I, 29, II, 25; Thomas of Marghā, II, 123–4; Scher, II (1), 187.
- <sup>108</sup> Chabot, "Chasteté," pp. 54, 269; Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, II, 716, 793.
- <sup>109</sup> Fiey, "Balad," pp. 197–8.
- <sup>110</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 177.
- <sup>111</sup> Scher, II (1), 187; Thomas of Marghā, I, 383; II, 651.
- <sup>112</sup> Nau, pp. 54, 57; Scher, II (2), 543.
- <sup>113</sup> Dīnawarī, p. 304.
- <sup>114</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 217.
- <sup>115</sup> Dillemann, pp. 103, 112.
- <sup>116</sup> Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, I, 160.
- <sup>117</sup> Braun, pp. 118, 127; J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *La religion de l'Iran ancien* (Paris, 1962), p. 282; P. Peeters, "Le Passionnaire d'Adiabene," *Analecta Bollandiana*, XLIII (1925), 269, 279, 282.
- <sup>118</sup> J. B. Abbloos, "Acta Mar Ḳardaghi," *Analecta Bollandiana*, IX (1890), 75; Peeters, p. 281.
- <sup>119</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 19, 53, 62, 66–8, 89, 90, 94, 108–10, 213, 256–7, 300, 311, 315–17, 344–5, 350, 366–8, 478; idem, "Chasteté," 280–1; Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, pp. 47–64; Guidi, I, 23, II, 20.
- <sup>120</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 34, 272.
- <sup>121</sup> Bivar, *Seals*, p. 15; A. Maricq, "Classica et Orientalia. 5. Res Gestae Divi Saporis," *Syria*, XXXV (1958), 304, n. 4; Markwart, *Catalogue*, p. 81; idem, *Südarmanien und die Tigrisquellen nach griechischen und arabischen Geographen* (Vienna, 1930), p. 379; J. T. Milik, "A propos d'un atelier monétaire d'Adiabene: Natounia," *Revue Numismatique*, IV (1962), 51–2, 57.
- <sup>122</sup> Ibn Khurradādhbih, p. 17; Yāqūt, IV, 683. This name became Būdh-Ardashīr in Arabic literature.
- <sup>123</sup> Markwart, *Catalogue*, p. 82; Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, p. 70, n. 1. He was there in 344 and 376.
- <sup>124</sup> Hewsens, p. 296.
- <sup>125</sup> Bivar, *Seals*, pp. 18, 117; Milik, p. 57. Bivar dates it to the fourth century, but Milik regards it as later. Herzfeld read this inscription tentatively as "Barmīkō, the Dar-hamārkār of Būt-Ardashīr" and dated it to the sixth century (*Paikuli, Monument and inscription of the early history of the Sasanian empire*, Berlin, 1924, pp. 80–1).
- <sup>126</sup> Braun, p. 180; Brockelmann, p. 56; Hoffmann, p. 51.
- <sup>127</sup> Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, I, 40; Altheim and Stiehl, pp. 15–16.
- <sup>128</sup> Le Strange, p. 87. This was based on Ḥamza al-Isfāhānī's claim that in the days of the Persians the name of al-Mawṣil was Nū or Bū Ardashīr (Yāqūt, IV, 683). Ḥamza also says that Būd Ardashīr was one of the cities of al-Mawṣil (*Ta'-rīkh sinī mulūk al-ard*, Beirut, 1961, p. 44).
- <sup>129</sup> Milik, p. 57.
- <sup>130</sup> Chabot, "Histoire de Jésus-Sabran," *Nouvelles archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*, VII (1897), 485, 584. The village of Ḥ<sup>c</sup>zā is located in the land or district (*ethrā*) of Athōrayē in the legend of Mar Qardag (Abbeloos, p. 20). Fiey (*Assyrie chrétienne*, I, 166) suggests that the actual capital was Kafar 'Uzail five kilometres southwest of Irbil.
- <sup>131</sup> Mingana, *Sources syriaques*, I, 230.
- <sup>132</sup> Tabarī, I, 820.
- <sup>133</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 217.
- <sup>134</sup> Dīnawarī, p. 178; Yāqūt, II, 222–3.
- <sup>135</sup> Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, p. 131.
- <sup>136</sup> Dīnawarī, p. 178.
- <sup>137</sup> Yāqūt, II, 222–3.
- <sup>138</sup> Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, I, 104, 109.
- <sup>139</sup> Scher, II (2), 272–3; Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, I, 103, 107.
- <sup>140</sup> Chabot, "Chasteté," pp. 57, 272.
- <sup>141</sup> Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, I, 100, 107–8; II, 820.
- <sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 92, 192, 213; idem, "Proto-histoire chrétienne du Hakkari turc," *L'Orient Syrien*, IX (1964), 451–3.
- <sup>143</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 34, 272.
- <sup>144</sup> Chabot, "Chasteté," pp. 8, 10, 233–5.
- <sup>145</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 332.
- <sup>146</sup> Ibn Khurradādhbih, p. 94.
- <sup>147</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 332; Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, I, 213–14. Al-Ḥayāna, which appears in Balādhurī's list between Ḥibtūn and al-Ma'alla, is probably by metathesis to be recognized as al-Ḥanāya, the Arabic form of Ḥnithā.
- <sup>148</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, p. 608; Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, I, 69, 208, 212.
- <sup>149</sup> Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 53.
- <sup>150</sup> Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, I, 38, 67, 186; Thomas of Marghā, I, 109, 149, 199; II, 240, 307, 388.
- <sup>151</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 332.
- <sup>152</sup> Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, I, 9, II, 570.
- <sup>153</sup> Abbeloos, p. 10; Hoffmann, p. 17. The legend of Mar Qardag makes him the *paṭakshah* of Athōr and makes that region extend from the Diyāla river to Naṣībīn.

- <sup>154</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, p. 165. Since the bishop of Bēth Nūhadrā and the metropolitan of Bēth Garmē are both mentioned in the same context and there is no mention of the metropolitan of Ḥedhayabh, it is reasonable to identify the metropolitan of the Athōrayē as that of Adiabene.
- <sup>155</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 331. The eastern fortress may have been at Nimrud, which is said to have been the seat of a *mōbadh* when it was conquered by the Muslims (Chabot, "Chasteté," p. 278), although it is difficult to tell to which period this information belongs. This passage presents problems because it says that Nimrud fell whilst resisting an army sent by 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz against the Turks. Although the early life of Joseph Hazzayā, who was taken captive at Nimrud as a child and sold to an Arab of Sinjār, belongs to this part of al-'Irāq, it is difficult to believe that the Nimrud near Nineveh still had a *mōbadh* and fell to a Muslim army as late as the end of the first/beginning of the eighth century. It is now impossible to tell if there was a Sasanian occupation at Nimrud because the upper levels have been lost due to erosion and to excavations interested only in the Assyrian levels (D. and J. Oates, "Nimrud 1957: the Hellenistic settlement," *Iraq*, XX (1958), 114, 122). For Fiey's arguments in favour of other locations for the Nimrud of this text and of putting Joseph Hazzayā in the second/eighth century, see *Assyrie chrétienne*, II, 569. According to Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, p. 428), Asad ibn 'Abdallāh raided a place called Jibāl Nimrūd in the vicinity of Samarqand and al-Khuttal in the reign of Hishām. Asad also had to deal with Turkish involvement at Samarqand, but since Jibāl Nimrūd submitted peacefully it is difficult to identify it as the Nimrud where Joseph Hazzayā was captured and which was taken by force.
- <sup>156</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 216.
- <sup>157</sup> Chabot, "Chasteté," pp. 63, 277; idem, *Synodicon*, pp. 108–10, 164–5, 366–8, 423; Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, II, 344–7.
- <sup>158</sup> Scher, II (2), 630.
- <sup>159</sup> Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, II, 351.
- <sup>160</sup> Yāqūt (I, 472) calls Bā'ashīqa a *kūra* of al-Mawṣil and a *madīna* in the environs (*nawāḥi*) of Nineveh, while he says that al-Hannāna was a *nāḥiya* west of al-Mawṣil which was conquered by 'Utba ibn Farqad (II, 346).
- <sup>161</sup> Thomas of Marghā, II, 123, 233–4.
- <sup>162</sup> Chabot, "Chasteté," p. 230.
- <sup>163</sup> Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, II, 696; Scher, II (2), 463.
- <sup>164</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 217.
- <sup>165</sup> Mas'ūdī (*Murūj*, I, 122) says that the Lesser Khābūr joined the Tigris between the towns of Bāsūrīn and Fayshābūr in the territory (*bilād*) of Qardā and Bāzabdā in the province (*bilād*) of al-Mawṣil. Yāqūt (III, 931) describes Fayshābūr as a town in the *nāḥiya* of Jazīrat Ibn 'Umar among the *nawāḥi* of al-Mawṣil, although he says that Fīrūz-Sābūr, a large village with ruins, was one of the *nawāḥi* of Qardā (IV, 56).
- <sup>166</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 332. Since both Bāhudhrā and Bā'adhrā are supposed to be Arabic forms of Bēth Nūhadrā, it is difficult to understand what the presence of both terms in the same list is supposed to mean. It is either a case of parallelism, which occurs nowhere else in this list, or they were really two separate but perhaps neighbouring districts.
- <sup>167</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 217.
- <sup>168</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 62, 66–8, 164–5, 213, 310–11, 315–17, 423, 478; Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, II, 342.
- <sup>169</sup> Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, II, 330–1, 353; Nau, pp. 53–4, 57, 69; Scher, II (2), 543.
- <sup>170</sup> Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, II, 785–6. 'Ayn Sifnē, the centre of Bēth Rustāqa, is attested as a Nestorian bishopric in 576 (Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 110, 368).
- <sup>171</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 62–3, 66–8, 89, 95, 108–10, 164–5, 214, 310–11, 315–17, 344–5, 351, 366–8, 423, 479; Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, II, 677; Nau, p. 54; Scher, II (2), 543. Fiey (III, 333–4) regards Ma'alṥā as another name for the diocese of Bēth Nūhadrā. The life of Rabban Hūrmīz assumes that there was a governor at the city of the Ma'alṥethāyē in the late Sasanian period (Budge, I, 31–2; II, 46–8).
- <sup>172</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 217.
- <sup>173</sup> Chabot, "Jésus-Sabran," p. 497.
- <sup>174</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 332.
- <sup>175</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, p. 608.
- <sup>176</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 217.
- <sup>177</sup> Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, I, 230–1; Nau, pp. 54, 57; Scher, II (2), 543.
- <sup>178</sup> Markwart, *Südarmanien*, p. 379.
- <sup>179</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 34, 43, 62, 66–8, 110, 214, 272, 285, 310, 315–17, 368, 479; Fiey, "Hakkari," p. 451.
- <sup>180</sup> For the geographical extent of Bēth Garmē, see Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 13; Hoffmann, pp. 43–44, 253–77; and Thomas of Marghā, II, 44–5.
- <sup>181</sup> Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 98.
- <sup>182</sup> Scher, II (2), 449.
- <sup>183</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 333; Guidi, I, 34; Scher, II (2), 631–3. Fiey, (*Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 33–4) identifies him as 'Utba ibn Ghazwān, but this is hardly possible. In this connection we should also notice Hāshim ibn 'Utba ibn Abī Waqqāṣ who is said to have conquered Khānījār near Daqūqā for his uncle Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ (Yāqūt, II, 394).
- <sup>184</sup> P. Devos, "Sainte Sirin, martyre sous Khosrau I<sup>er</sup> Anōšarvan," *Analecta Bollandiana*, LXIV (1946), 96–7, 121.
- <sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 96, 120–1; N. Pigulevskaya, *Les villes de L'état iranien aux époques parthe et sassanide* (Paris, 1963), pp. 112–13. In this context Karkhā is said to have been under the authority of the king of Adiabene which, again, may reflect fourth century conditions.
- <sup>186</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 34, 172.
- <sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 43, 53, 59, 62, 66–8, 89, 90, 94, 109, 165, 213, 256–7, 285, 300, 306, 310–11, 315–17, 344–5, 351, 367, 424, 478; idem, "Chasteté," pp. 67–8, 280–1; Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 28–29; Guidi, I, 34; II, 28; Hoffmann, p. 114; Scher, II (1), 171; II (2) 631–2.
- <sup>188</sup> Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 30–47.
- <sup>189</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 43, 62–3, 66–8, 89, 95, 110, 165, 285, 310–11, 315–17, 344–5, 351, 368, 424, 456; Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 54–9.
- <sup>190</sup> Local Sasanian administrative centres were sometimes outside of or detached from local population centres. Dāqūqā replaced Karkhā as the the secular capital of Bēth Garmē in the third/ninth century and replaced Lashōm as the local bishopric (Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 40).
- <sup>191</sup> Yāqūt, II, 394.
- <sup>192</sup> Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 60. Khānījār became a Nestorian bishopric in the third/ninth century supposedly also replacing Lashōm (*ibid.*, pp. 36–7).
- <sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 116; III, 82.
- <sup>194</sup> M. Negro Ponzi, "Sasanian Glassware from Tell Mahuz (North Mesopotamia)," *Mesopotamia*, III–IV (1968–9), 293–4, 300, 309.
- <sup>195</sup> Chabot, "Chasteté," pp. 67–8, 280–1; idem, *Synodicon*, pp. 53, 108–10, 164–5, 214, 299, 366–8, 423, 479; R. Duval, *Isōyahb Patriarchae III Liber Epistularum*, CSCO, XI, *Scriptores Syri*, XI, 243; CSCO, XII, *Scriptores Syri*, XII, 176; Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, I, 117–8, III, 90–3.
- <sup>196</sup> Chabot, "Chasteté," pp. 61–2, 276.
- <sup>197</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 840.
- <sup>198</sup> Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, I, 115–7. The exact location of Bawāzāj remains unknown, and although Fiey prefers to put it north of the Lesser Zāb, others have placed it south of that river. Ibn Ḥawqal (p. 245) locates al-Bawāzāj east of Takrīt on a small stream.
- <sup>199</sup> Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, I, 122–3; II, 451–3; III, 33, 94; Nau, pp. 54–57; Scher, II (2), 543. This Monophysite bishopric is attested only briefly in the 620s and probably reflects temporary Monophysite success in the countryside of Bēth Rammān, while the Nestorians controlled the town of Sinn. In this context, Bawāzāj is most likely to have been contiguous to Bēth Rammān.

- <sup>200</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 110, 164–5, 214, 368, 423, 479, 603; Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 93–5; Scher, II (2), 491, 497. Sinn was on the east bank of the Tigris just below its confluence with the Lesser Zāb and was called Qārdālīābādh by the Persians (Hoffmann, p. 253; Thomas of Marghā, I, 79; II, 177).
- <sup>201</sup> Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, I, 49; Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 62–3, 66–8, 89, 110, 164–5, 214, 310–11, 315–17, 344–5, 368, 423, 479.
- <sup>202</sup> Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, I, 49; Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 89, 110, 344–5, 368. Barḥis is attested as a Nestorian bishopric only in 544 and 576.
- <sup>203</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 43, 53, 60, 62–3, 66–8, 95, 109, 110, 164–5, 214, 285, 299, 307, 310–11, 315–17, 351, 367, 368, 423, 479; Hoffmann, p. 261; Thomas of Marghā, I, 66; II, 119. Fiey (*Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 29) suggests that the disappearance of Nestorian bishoprics such as Taḥal, Barḥis and Ḥarbagelal after 605 means that they went Monophysite, but this is unlikely unless equivalent Monophysite bishoprics can be shown to appear in their place.
- <sup>204</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 62, 66–8, 94, 110, 203, 213, 310–11, 315–17, 351, 368, 465, 478; Milik, p. 58.
- <sup>205</sup> Scher, II (2), 504. Yazdīn went there to bury the Nestorian catholicos Sabhrīshōc in 604.
- <sup>206</sup> Guidi, I, 31, 34; II, 26, 28.
- <sup>207</sup> Yāqūt, IV, 255.
- <sup>208</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 108–9, 165–6, 366–7, 423; Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 68–71; Scher, II (1), 171.
- <sup>209</sup> Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, II, 33, 69–70; Nau, 54, 57; Scher, II (2), 543.
- <sup>210</sup> Thomas of Marghā, I, 80, II, 179.
- <sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 319, II, 561.
- <sup>212</sup> Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 12; idem, “Tagrīt,” *L'Orient Syrien VIII* (1963), 292–3; Hoffmann, pp. 188–91.
- <sup>213</sup> Nau, p. 91.
- <sup>214</sup> Hoffmann, p. 237; Ṭabarī, I, 2474.
- <sup>215</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 2477, 2481, 2485. There may have been some sort of arrangement with the administrative centre near Nineveh after the defeat of Anṭaq, since ‘Abdallāh ibn ‘Abdallāh ibn ‘Itbān raided up the Tigris through this region to Balad in 17/637 without meeting any recorded resistance, and since Nimrūd is said to have “rebelled” at the time of ‘Uṭba ibn Farqad’s campaign in 20/641 (Chabot, “Chasteté,” p. 278). The assumption that ‘Abdallāh ibn Mu‘tamm’s campaign had reached the two fortresses at Nineveh is also contained in Sayf’s account that Sa‘d was ordered to evacuate Jalūlā’, Takrīt and al-Ḥiṣnayn in 16/637 (Ṭabarī, I, 2377).
- <sup>216</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 249; Scher, II (2), 628.
- <sup>217</sup> Ṭabarī, II, 774.
- <sup>218</sup> Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, II, 329, III, 18; idem, “Tagrīt,” pp. 312–13, 332; Nau, pp. 54, 82; Scher, II (2), 543.
- <sup>219</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, 89, 164–5, 240, 344–5, 423, 479, 603, 608; Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 105–6; idem, “Tagrīt,” p. 300. Ṭrihan is attested shortly after the conquest under the catholicos Mar Ammeh (Guidi, I, 34; II, 28), but the bishopric of Ṭrihan mentioned in the acts of the Synod of George II in 56/676 is said to be in Bēth Qaṭrayē (Qaṭar) (Chabot, *Synodicon*, p. 216, 482). The bishopric of Ṭrihan is not attested again until the mid-second/eighth century under the catholicos Mar Aba II (J. S. Assemani, *Biblioteca Orientalis*, III (1) (Rome, 1725), 177).
- <sup>220</sup> Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 106.
- <sup>221</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 53, 60, 62–3, 66–8, 108–9, 299, 307, 310–11, 315–17, 366–7; Nau, p. 54; Scher, II (2), 543.
- <sup>222</sup> Yāqūt, IV, 252, 255, 256. There was no Sasanian monarch with this genealogy. The only Sasanian ruler called Fīrūz (457 or 459–84) was succeeded by his brother Balāsh (484–8) and by his own son Qubādh I (488–531). Yāqūt’s “genealogy” appears to be the royal succession in the late fifth century, if it represents anything at all, and suggests that Karkh Fīrūz was a late fifth century foundation.
- <sup>223</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 2507.
- <sup>224</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, pp. 249, 331–3; Scher, II (1), 200–1; II (2), 628; Yāqūt, II, 346. Ḥesnā ‘Ebhayā was a very small fortress (Chabot, “Chasteté” pp. 32, 52). Dīnawarī (p. 47) claims that Ardāshīr I built a *madīna* called Khurrazād Ardāshīr at al-Mawṣil and Ḥamza (p. 51) says that Qubādh I founded a city called Khābūr Kawādh next to al-Mawṣil. The earliest occurrence of the name of al-Mawṣil appears to be in the oldest of the minor Syriac chronicles (Guidi, I, 20; II, 23).
- <sup>225</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 332.
- <sup>226</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>227</sup> *Ibid.*, Yāqūt, II, 222–3. This account is ascribed to Ibn al-Kalbī.
- <sup>228</sup> According to Ya‘qūbī (*Ta’rikh*, II, 176), al-Mawṣil was a *jund* in the time of ‘Umar, while al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra were *amṣār*.
- <sup>229</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 2928.
- <sup>230</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3259.
- <sup>231</sup> Dīnawarī, p. 164.
- <sup>232</sup> Ṭabarī, II, 128; Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rikh*, II, 275. Ya‘qūbī calls him ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn Umm al-Ḥakam.
- <sup>233</sup> Ṭabarī, II, 635.
- <sup>234</sup> Dīnawarī, p. 300; Ṭabarī, II, 635, Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rikh*, II, 308.
- <sup>235</sup> Dīnawarī, p. 304; Ṭabarī, II, 635; Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rikh*, II, 308–9. It is therefore no surprise to find Naṣībīn located in *arḍ al-Jazīra* in 67/686 (Ṭabarī, II, 716).
- <sup>236</sup> Ṭabarī, II, 750, 765.
- <sup>237</sup> Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf* (Jerusalem, 1936), V, 186; idem, *Futūḥ*, p. 332. According to Ṭabarī (II, 1073, 1096), Muḥammad ibn Marwān was governor of Arḍ al-Mawṣil for ‘Abd al-Malik until 82/701 and again in 83/702.
- <sup>238</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 332; Walker, *Arab-Sasanian Coins*, pp. cxxxiv–cxxxv. Balādhurī also credits Sa‘īd ibn ‘Abd al-Malik with building the wall and paving the town when he was governor of al-Mawṣil.
- <sup>239</sup> Yāqūt, IV, 683.
- <sup>240</sup> Mas‘ūdī, I, 122; Yāqūt, I, 472.
- <sup>241</sup> See Bal‘amī’s version of Ṭabarī’s account of the Muslim conquest of al-Mawṣil and Takrīt (H. Zotenberg, *Chronique de Abou-Djafar-Mo’hammed ben-Djarir ben-Yezid Ṭabarī, traduite sur la version persane d’Abou ‘Alī Mo’hammed Bel’ami* (Paris, 1938), III, 420–1). Fiey’s argument that Takrīt was under Byzantine rule at the time of the Muslim conquest is based on this passage (“Tagrīt,” p. 305).
- <sup>242</sup> Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 106; C. E. Sachau, *Syrische Rechtsbücher* (Berlin, 1907), II, xiv. The use of Ḥazza as an intermediate term is also suggested by ‘Abd Ishōc’s sequence in referring to the metropolitan of Irbil, Ḥazza Āthōr and al-Mawṣil (Fiey, II, 336–8).
- <sup>243</sup> Chabot, “Chasteté,” pp. 34, 254; idem, *Synodicon*, p. 608; Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, I, 70. The fact that Ishōc denah of Baṣra refers to a metropolitan of Āthōr in the sixth century means that this term was in use at least by the time when he wrote in the late second/eighth century.
- <sup>244</sup> Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, I, 71; II, 335–6, 347.
- <sup>245</sup> Ibn Khurradādhbih, p. 94; Ibn Rustah, p. 106; Yāqūt, IV, 683. Mas‘ūdī (*Tanbih*, p. 38) identifies the *nāhiya* of Āthūr as al-Mawṣil.
- <sup>246</sup> Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 34–5.
- <sup>247</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 19–20.
- <sup>248</sup> The Chronicle of Si‘irt (Scher, II (2), 583–4) mentions a governor (*ḥakīm*) of al-Mawṣil in the reign of Khusraw II, but Fiey questions the historicity of this description (*Assyrie chrétienne*, I, 137–8).
- <sup>249</sup> Yāqūt, IV, 143.
- <sup>250</sup> Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, I, 120; idem, *Tanbih*, p. 40.
- <sup>251</sup> Ibn Khurradādhbih, p. 6; Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rikh*, I, 202. For the association of Jukhā with the Diyāla region, see Obermeyer, pp. 79–81. In the middle Sasanian period, Gōkhā appears to have been identified with Rādhān and was considered part of Bēth Garmē (Hoffmann, p. 259). For the extension of Jūkhā to the region northeast of Kaskar and Wāsiṭ, see S. El-‘Alī, “Mīnṭaqat Wāsiṭ,” *Sumer*, XXVII (1971), 174–7.
- <sup>252</sup> Scher, II (2), 450.
- <sup>253</sup> Frye, “Legenden,” pp. 33, 34; C. Torrey, “Pehlevi Seal Inscript-

- tions from Yale Collections," *JAOS*, LII (1932), 206.
- <sup>254</sup> Göbl, "Veh-Ardašēr," p. 252.
- <sup>255</sup> Dīnawarī, p. 75.
- <sup>256</sup> Ibn Khurradādhbih, p. 6; Yāqūt, III, 228.
- <sup>257</sup> El-'Alī, "Al-Madā'in fī l-mašādir al-'arabiyya," *Sumer*, XXIII (1967), 53–55; idem, "Al-Madā'in and its surrounding area in Arabic literary sources," *Mesopotamia*, III–IV (1968–9), 424–5.
- <sup>258</sup> Markwart, p. 13.
- <sup>259</sup> H. Lavoix, *Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque nationale: Khalifes orientaux* (Paris, 1887), p. 102; Walker, pp. cxxxiii, cxli.
- <sup>260</sup> Ibn Khurradādhbih, p. 28; Ibn Rustah, p. 104; Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 38; A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates. A Topographical Itinerary* (New York, 1927), pp. 137–8; Ṭabarī, I, 839.
- <sup>261</sup> Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharāj* (Cairo, 1382/1962), p. 15.
- <sup>262</sup> Hoffmann, p. 71; Musil, pp. 136–7; Streck, p. 231; Yāqūt, I, 553.
- <sup>263</sup> Hoffmann, p. 73; Scher, II (1), 154.
- <sup>264</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 248.
- <sup>265</sup> Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr* (Leiden, 1909), VI, 195–6; Ṭabarī, II, 932. Ibn Sa'd says that Abū Ḥawshab ibn Yazīd ash-Shaybānī was in charge of the *nāhiya*, but this is probably Yazīd ash-Shaybānī himself, whose *kunya* was Abū Ḥawshab and whose territory included Barādhān when he was governor of al-Madā'in in 68/687–8.
- <sup>266</sup> Dīnawarī, pp. 70–1; Ibn Khurradādhbih, pp. 6–7; Procopius, II, xiv; Ṭabarī, I, 898, 959–60; Tha'ālibī, *Ghurar*, pp. 612–13; Yāqūt, IV, 446–7.
- <sup>267</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 108, 366; Hoffmann, p. 94.
- <sup>268</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 263.
- <sup>269</sup> Dīnawarī, p. 376.
- <sup>270</sup> Paruck, "Mint Marks," p. 117; idem, *Sāsānian Coins*, p. 168.
- <sup>271</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 2439–40.
- <sup>272</sup> Le Strange, pp. 18–19; Ṭabarī, II, 900; Walker, pp. cxl–cxli. But this might also have been the al-Jisr near al-Kūfa.
- <sup>273</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 43, 53, 62, 66–8, 95, 108–9, 214, 285, 299, 310–11, 315–7, 351, 366–7, 379, 603, 608. Ibn Khurradādhbih (p. 6) puts Bāndanījīn, the main town of Bādarāyā, and Bākusāyā in the *kūra* of Shādh Qubādh.
- <sup>274</sup> Ibn Khurradādhbih, p. 6; Yāqūt, III, 227.
- <sup>275</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 264; Dīnawarī, pp. 136–7.
- <sup>276</sup> Yāqūt, II, 442.
- <sup>277</sup> Walker, pp. cxxxiii, cxl–cxli.
- <sup>278</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 265.
- <sup>279</sup> *Ibid.*, Ṭabarī, I, 2461; Yāqūt, IV, 700.
- <sup>280</sup> Ṭabarī, II, 916.
- <sup>281</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 770, 903, 932.
- <sup>282</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 2455–6, 2637.
- <sup>283</sup> Abū Yūsuf, p. 48.
- <sup>284</sup> Ṭabarī, II, 929, 980, 982.
- <sup>285</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 2360–1.
- <sup>286</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2463.
- <sup>287</sup> Ibn Sa'd, VI, 9; VII (2), 65.
- <sup>288</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 289; Ibn Sa'd, VI, 8; VII (2), 64; Ṭabarī, I, 2374, 2645.
- <sup>289</sup> Ya'qūbī, *Les pays*, pp. 162–3.
- <sup>290</sup> Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 45.
- <sup>291</sup> Dīnawarī, p. 163.
- <sup>292</sup> El-'Alī, "Al-Madā'in," p. 23.
- <sup>293</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 3259.
- <sup>294</sup> Dīnawarī, p. 218; Ṭabarī, I, 3366, 3372; II, 2.
- <sup>295</sup> Ṭabarī, II, 39.
- <sup>296</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 635. Al-Mukhtār is also said to have appointed Zahīr ibn Qays governor of Jūkhā (Dīnawarī, p. 300).
- <sup>297</sup> Ṭabarī, II, 755, 775.
- <sup>298</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 899, 929.
- <sup>299</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 942, 979–80.
- <sup>300</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1069.
- <sup>301</sup> Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif* (Cairo, 1969) p. 435. Although the Sasanian mint marks BBA and KVN BBA probably represent the royal court, their location at al-Madā'in remains controversial. For discussions of this questions see Göbl, *Sasanische Numismatik* (Brunswick, 1968), pp. 80–2, 84; and Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, pp. 144, 158–9.
- <sup>302</sup> Ya'qūbī, (*Ta'rikh*, I, 201) puts Nihāwand, Dīnawar, Ḥulwān, Māsabadhān, Mihrijānqadhaq and Shahrzūr in the quarter of Azerbaijan under the Sasanians.
- <sup>303</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 214, 479. Fiey's geographical identification of Ḥulwān with Bēth Madayē ("Mada'in," p. 10) is somewhat imprecise and cannot hold for Church government, because the bishop of Ḥulwān also signed the synod of 605.
- <sup>304</sup> Mas'ūdī, II, 184; Scher, II (2), 553; Ṭabarī, I, 1041. The sixth-century life of St. Shīrīn puts Ḥulwān in Bēth Madayē (Devos, p. 102).
- <sup>305</sup> Ibn Khurradādhbih, p. 6; Yāqūt, II, 442. The rest of Ibn Khurradādhbih's description of the *kūra* of Shādh Firūz bears little relationship to conditions in the early Islamic period.
- <sup>306</sup> Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 40.
- <sup>307</sup> Devos, p. 97.
- <sup>308</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 108–9, 164–5, 214, 336–7, 423, 479.
- <sup>309</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 2473.
- <sup>310</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 2473–4.
- <sup>311</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 2928, 3058.
- <sup>312</sup> Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 45.
- <sup>313</sup> Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha* (Cairo, 1378/1959), XVII, 145.
- <sup>314</sup> Ṭabarī, II, 635. Sa'd ibn Ḥudhayfa is otherwise known as an early *qādī* at al-Madā'in (al-Khaṭīb, *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, IX, 123).
- <sup>315</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 108–10, 366–8; Frye, "Foroughi," p. 121.
- <sup>316</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 110, 164–5, 368, 423.
- <sup>317</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 2478.
- <sup>318</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2637.
- <sup>319</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 306; Ṭabarī, I, 2632–34, 2647, 2672; II, 941. The best interpretation of the term *māh* derives it from the old name Māda for the land of Media (Nöldeke, p. 103). *Māh* is used alone to mean the entire province of al-Jabal (Ṭabarī, I, 2615, 2630).
- <sup>320</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3058. According to Dīnawarī (p. 165), Jarīr ibn 'Abdallāh al-Bajalī was 'Uthmān's *'āmil* in 35/656.
- <sup>321</sup> Dīnawarī, p. 163.
- <sup>322</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 306.
- <sup>323</sup> Ṭabarī, II, 182.
- <sup>324</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 635. Al-Mukhtār is also said to have appointed Ibn Mālīk al-Bakrāwī as governor of Ḥulwān and Māsabadhān, while he appointed 'Abdallāh ibn al-Ḥārith as governor of al-Māhayn (Dīnawar and Nihāwand) and Hamadhān (Dīnawarī, p. 300).
- <sup>325</sup> Eliae Metropolitae Nisibeni, *Opus Chronologicum*, CSCO, LXII, 56–7; LXIII, 31–2.
- <sup>326</sup> Ya'qūbī, *Les pays*, p. 68.
- <sup>327</sup> Chabot, "Chasteté," p. 243; Yāqūt, I, 368, 447, 565–66; II, 453; III, 184.
- <sup>328</sup> Browne, *JRAS* (1900), p. 226; Yāqūt, III, 929.
- <sup>329</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 246; Kister, "Al-Hīra, Some notes on its relations with Arabia," *Arabica*, XV (1968), 143–69; Ṭabarī, I, 2057; Qazwīnī, II, 314; Ya'qūbī, *Les pays*, p. 164.
- <sup>330</sup> Browne, p. 254; Scher, II (2), 546, 549.
- <sup>331</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 819. Ibn Khurradādhbih (p. 7) calls it the *ustān* of Ardāshīr Bābakān.
- <sup>332</sup> G. Gullini, "Problems of an excavation in northern Babylonia," *Mesopotamia*, I (1966), 25.
- <sup>333</sup> Fiey, "Mada'in," p. 32.
- <sup>334</sup> Bivar, *Western Asiatic Seals*, p. 39.
- <sup>335</sup> Bivar, *Hoard*, p. 165; Göbl, "Veh-Ardašēr," pp. 165, 232–3, 246–8, 252. The identification of this mint mark with Bih-Qubādh was originally refuted by Paruck (*Sāsānian Coins*, pp. 186–7). On this point see also H. Gaube, *Arabosasanische Numismatik* (Brunswick, 1973), p. 89.
- <sup>336</sup> Ḥamza, p. 43; Streck, *El' art*. "Madā'in," Yāqūt, I, 768. This city is consistently vocalized as "Bahursīr" in Arabic literature.

- <sup>337</sup> Dīnawarī, p. 163.
- <sup>338</sup> G. Miles, "The Iconography of Umayyad Coinage," *Ars Orientalis*, III (1959), 213.
- <sup>339</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 53, 90, 300, 345.
- <sup>340</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 603, 608; Guidi, I, 34; II, 28.
- <sup>341</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 819. Ibn Khurradādhbih (p. 7) gives the same list of subdistricts.
- <sup>342</sup> El-ʿAlī, "Madā'in," pp. 431–3.
- <sup>343</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 438; Gibson, pp. 52, 57.
- <sup>344</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 2421.
- <sup>345</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 2170.
- <sup>346</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 941.
- <sup>347</sup> Bivar, *Western Asiatic Seals*, p. 39.
- <sup>348</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, pp. 265, 457–8; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 176.
- <sup>349</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 271.
- <sup>350</sup> Dīnawarī, p. 51; Ṭabarī, I, 839; Thaʿālibī, *Ghurur*, p. 529; Yāqūt, I, 367–8; III, 929.
- <sup>351</sup> Yāqūt, I, 368.
- <sup>352</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, XXIV, 2: 7–22.
- <sup>353</sup> Dīnawarī, p. 68; Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 199; Ibn Khurradādhbih, p. 7; Yāqūt, III, 227, 592.
- <sup>354</sup> Abūl-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Būlāq) VIII, 70.
- <sup>355</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 246.
- <sup>356</sup> Dīnawarī, p. 122.
- <sup>357</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 2062. The *dihqān* of al-ʿAlī, ar-Rufayl, who converted to Islam in the time of ʿUmar I, was allowed to keep his lands, had his *jiṣya* annulled, and was given a stipend of 1,000 dirhams (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 265).
- <sup>358</sup> Dīnawarī, p. 163; Ṭabarī, I, 3445–6.
- <sup>359</sup> Ibn ʿAbī l-Ḥadīd, XVII, 149.
- <sup>360</sup> Dīnawarī, p. 231.
- <sup>361</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68; Yāqūt, III, 929.
- <sup>362</sup> Ṭabarī, II, 757.
- <sup>363</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 333.
- <sup>364</sup> Walker, *Arab-Sasanian Coins*, pp. cxi–cxli.
- <sup>365</sup> Ibn Rustah, p. 104; Masʿūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 38; Ṭabarī, II, 916, 1099. In 71/690 Dayr al-Jāthalīq was in Maskin and on the Dujayl (*Ibid.*, II, 806, 811).
- <sup>366</sup> Musil, pp. 135, 269; Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien nach den arabischen Geographen* (Leiden, 1900–1), p. 24; Yāqūt, IV, 133.
- <sup>367</sup> Yāqūt, III, 378; IV, 133.
- <sup>368</sup> Chabot, "Chasteté," pp. 46, 263; Dīnawarī, pp. 366, 379; Ṭabarī, I, 2077; Yaʿqūbī, *Les pays*, p. 6.
- <sup>369</sup> Dīnawarī, pp. 218–19; Ṭabarī, I, 3366–7.
- <sup>370</sup> Ṭabarī, II, 772.
- <sup>371</sup> Yāqūt, II, 223.
- <sup>372</sup> Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, III (1), 172; Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 53, 60, 62, 66–8, 108–10, 214, 299, 307, 310–11, 315–17, 366–8, 479, 603; Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, I, 64; III, 232–4.
- <sup>373</sup> Assemani, II, 419; III (2), 607; Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 239; Nau, pp. 54, 57; Scher, II (2), 543.
- <sup>374</sup> Gibson, p. 64; Ibn Khurradādhbih, p. 8.
- <sup>375</sup> Dīnawarī, p. 57. He was associated with Biṣṭām, the Ispāhbad of the Sawād, in the attempt to enthrone Khusraw instead of Bahrām Gūr. Although these titles are anachronous, they do not prevent the jurisdictions they describe from existing in the fifth century.
- <sup>376</sup> Qazwīnī, II, 314; Yaʿqūbī, *Les pays*, p. 164; Yāqūt, II, 903.
- <sup>377</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 2170.
- <sup>378</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 251.
- <sup>379</sup> Dīnawarī, p. 163.
- <sup>380</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 36, 53, 59, 63, 66–8, 95, 110, 164–5, 275, 299, 306, 310–11, 315–17, 351, 368, 423, 603, 608; Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 198–9; Guidi, I, 34; II, 28; Hoffmann, p. 84; Sachau, II, 20–21, 185; Scher, II (1), 181, 192.
- <sup>381</sup> Frye, "Foroughi," pp. 238–9.
- <sup>382</sup> Hewsén, p. 289; Marquart, *Erānsāhr*, pp. 142, 162.
- <sup>383</sup> However, in the events of 13/634 Rustam is said to have sent Jābān to Lower Bihqubādh to raise a revolt against the Muslims there (Ṭabarī I, 2165).
- <sup>384</sup> Schematic lists of these groupings may be found in Ibn Khurradādhbih (p. 8) and Yāqūt (I, 770).
- <sup>385</sup> Abū Yūsuf, pp. 172, 182; Dīnawarī, p. 163. There is no convincing evidence that al-Bihqubādhāt was ever a mint designation in either the late Sasanian or early Islamic periods. See Gaube, p. 89.
- <sup>386</sup> Ibn Serapion, "Description of Mesopotamia and Baghdad," (ed. and tr. Le Strange), *JRAS* (1895), 16, 255; Gibson, pp. 25, 53–4; Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 243; Iṣṭakhrī, p. 85; Marquart, *Erānsāhr*, p. 164; Musil, pp. 274–5; Streck, p. 28; Suhrāb, *Kitāb ʿAjāʾib al-aqālīm as-sabʿa* (Leipzig, 1930), p. 124.
- <sup>387</sup> Ṭabarī, II, 955.
- <sup>388</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, pp. 244–5; Ṭabarī, I, 2017, 2019, 2049–50, 2052, 2170; Yāqūt, I, 483–4. A place called Bāqusyāthā appears to have been the centre of Bārūsmā (Ṭabarī, I, 2032, 2172; Yāqūt, I, 476). Bārūsmā (Bēth Rūshmē) was also the name of a sub-district near Niffār bordering on the territory of Kaskar (Chabot, "Chasteté," pp. 62, 276; Scher, II (2) 512–13). Bāniqyā was on the way from al-Kūfa to Sūrā (Dīnawarī, p. 305). Bismā appears to be an abbreviation of Barbismā (Yāqūt, I, 544) and of Barbisamā, which was either combined with Sūrā in a single *ṭassūj* (Ibn Khurradādhbih, p. 8) or was a separate subdistrict nearby.
- <sup>389</sup> Musil, p. 275; Streck, p. 30; Suhrāb, p. 125. Ibn Khurradādhbih (p. 8) and Yāqūt (I, 770) put these subdistricts in Upper Bihqubādh. Yāqūt (II, 453) calls Khuṭarniyya a *nāḥiya* of Bābil.
- <sup>390</sup> Browne, p. 226; Dīnawarī, p. 66.
- <sup>391</sup> Browne, p. 254; Dīnawarī, p. 115. Mardānshāh is also called the *pādghospan* of Nīmruz (Ṭabarī, I, 1058).
- <sup>392</sup> Frye, "Sassanian Clay Sealings in the Baghdad Museum," *Sumer*, XXVI (1970), 338–9, fig. 3.
- <sup>393</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, pp. 259, 265, 457; Ṭabarī, I, 2431; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 176. The canal that went by Burs at the time of the conquest was called the Nahr Biṣṭām (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 259).
- <sup>394</sup> Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, MS. Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (no. 598), fol. 50b. However, this passage does not actually say that al-Jarrāḥ was governor or that al-Ḥajjāj appointed him.
- <sup>395</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 245; Musil, pp. 276, 279; Suhrāb, pp. 124–5; Yaʿqūbī, *Les pays*, p. 140.
- <sup>396</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 2051–52; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 176.
- <sup>397</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 457.
- <sup>398</sup> Ṭabarī, II, 773. The Nahr an-Nars which branched off from the Lower Nahr Sūrā at Naresh (modern Hilla) was probably an administrative subdistrict in this period (Berliner, p. 54; Musil, p. 275; Obermeyer, pp. 306–10; Suhrāb, *ʿAjāʾib*, p. 125).
- <sup>399</sup> Jāḥiḡ, *Rasāʾil*, II, 32. Jahshiyārī, *Kitāb al-unuzarāʾ wa-l-kuttāb* (Leipzig, 1926), p. 36, calls him ʿUbaydallāh ibn al-Mukhārib.
- <sup>400</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 2052; Yāqūt, I, 482. Al-Kuwayfa was near a village called Bazīqiyya close to Hilla (Yāqūt, I, 608; IV, 331), which puts it in the vicinity of the town of Naresh near the head of the Nahr an-Nars. Although El-ʿAlī ("Minṭaqat al-Kūfa," *Sumer*, XXI (1965), 235–37) lists several places called an-Nahrayn, many of which are in the region between ʿAyn at-Tamr and Karbalāʾ, the only known reference to an-Nahrayn as an administrative sub-district concerns this location near Bābil.
- <sup>401</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 2050, 2258.
- <sup>402</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 242.
- <sup>403</sup> El-ʿAlī, op. cit., 251; Ṭabarī, I, 2052; Yāqūt, IV, 834–5. Rudhmistān may be the place called Rūdhbār in 76/695 located in the lowest part of the Euphrates, in Lower Bihqubādh, twenty-four *farāsikh* (144 km.) from al-Kūfa (El-ʿAlī, "op. cit.," p. 252; Ṭabarī, II, 922).
- <sup>404</sup> Berliner, p. 52; Neubauer, pp. 363–5. Nehar Pakor was probably near Neresh.
- <sup>405</sup> Hoffmann, p. 93. There was an ancient temple-precinct of Inanna-Ishtar at Kish (Gibson, p. 4).
- <sup>406</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 2052; Yāqūt, IV, 780.
- <sup>407</sup> Altheim and Stiehl, p. 150; Ṭabarī, I, 1043. The Persian princes were confined at ʿAqr Bābil.

- <sup>408</sup> El-ʿAlī, op. cit., p. 251. This passage suggests that Nistar was somewhere west of Durnā.
- <sup>409</sup> Ibn Khurrādādhbih, p. 8; Yāqūt, I, 770. However, it is strange that Ibn Khurrādādhbih should record the amount of taxes due from these subdistricts if they had not been functioning at some time.
- <sup>410</sup> Yāqūt, I, 770.
- <sup>411</sup> Ṭabarī, II, 635. This text does not specify how the subdistricts were distributed among these divisions.
- <sup>412</sup> Lavoix, *Catalogue*, p. 77; G. Miles, "Rare Islamic Coins," *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 118 (New York, 1950), p. 23; Walker, *Arab-Sassanian Coins*, pp. cix-cx, cxl-cxli. The inscriptions on these coins actually say that they were struck in Middle and Lower Bzmqubādh. The main reason for identifying this mint with Bihqubādh appears to be that no other place is known which closely resembles it. This identification should remain conjectural.
- <sup>413</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 2057.
- <sup>414</sup> Ḥamza, p. 84; Yāqūt, II, 379. Ḥamza has Raqqa instead of Baqqa.
- <sup>415</sup> Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 221; Ḥamza, p. 53; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, I, 320; Nöldeke, pp. 346–7; G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Laḥmiden in al-Ḥīra* (Berlin, 1899), pp. 71, 123; Scher, II (2), 546, 549; Ṭabarī, I, 1038.
- <sup>416</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 243; Ḥamza, p. 96; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, II, 229; Rothstein, p. 123; Ṭabarī, I, 1029, 1038, 2017; Yāqūt, IV, 770.
- <sup>417</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 242–3; Ḥamza, p. 96; Ṭabarī, I, 2019, 2037–9.
- <sup>418</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 2058.
- <sup>419</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 2184, 2202.
- <sup>420</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 36, 43, 53, 59, 62, 66–8, 164–5, 275, 285, 299, 306, 310–11, 315–17, 423, 603, 607; Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 205.
- <sup>421</sup> El-ʿAlī, "Minṭaqat al-Ḥīra," *Majallat Kulliyat al-Adab, Baghdad* (1962), 27; idem, "Minṭaqat al-Kūfa," pp. 248–9; Ibn Khurrādādhbih, pp. 8, 11; M. Kister, "Al-Ḥīra, Some notes on its relations with Arabia," *Arabica*, XV (1968), 152; Musil, p. 295; Ṭabarī, I, 2232; Yāqūt, I, 770; III, 218–19. The Nahr as-Saylahūn was taken from the Euphrates, and as-Saylahūn contained al-Khawarnaq and Ṭizānābādh one mile from al-Qādisiyya.
- <sup>422</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 2232–3; Yāqūt, III, 430.
- <sup>423</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, pp. 242–3; Ṭabarī, I, 2019, 2038; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 147.
- <sup>424</sup> El-ʿAlī, "Minṭaqat al-Kūfa," pp. 249–51; Musil, pp. 293–4; Ṭabarī, I, 2019, 2037–8, 2167. El-ʿAlī locates Amghīshīyā near modern al-Ghamās and ash-Shanāfiyya.
- <sup>425</sup> Frye, "The Sasanian System of Walls for Defense," *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet* (Jerusalem, 1977), pp. 8–11; Ibn Rustah, pp. 107–8; Gibson, p. 24; Musil, pp. 111, 347–8, 351; H. Nyberg, "Die sassanidische West-grenze und ihre Verteidigung," *Septentrionalia et Orientalia* (Stockholm, 1961), pp. 316–26.
- <sup>426</sup> B. Finster and J. Schmidt, *Sasanidische und frühislamische Ruinen im Iraq* (Berlin, 1977), pp. 26, 44–7, 53–4; Musil, pp. 14–15.
- <sup>427</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, pp. 297–8; Yāqūt, III, 539–40, 549.
- <sup>428</sup> El-ʿAlī, "Minṭaqat al-Ḥīra," p. 21; Ṭabarī, I, 2233, 2543; Qazwīnī, *Athār al-bilād*, p. 159; Yāqūt, IV, 42–3.
- <sup>429</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 2247.
- <sup>430</sup> El-ʿAlī, "Minṭaqat al-Kūfa," pp. 246–7; Ṭabarī, I, 2350. For the identification of Qaṣr Muqātil with Ukhayḍir or Tulūl al-Ukayḍir, see Finster and Schmidt, pp. 149–50.
- <sup>431</sup> El-ʿAlī, "Minṭaqat al-Ḥīra," p. 20; Musil, p. 111; Ṭabarī, I, 2231.
- <sup>432</sup> Ṭabarī, I 2210.
- <sup>433</sup> Yāqūt, III, 539.
- <sup>434</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 2228.
- <sup>435</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 929.
- <sup>436</sup> Dīnawarī, pp. 256, 262.
- <sup>437</sup> Ibn Khurrādādhbih (p. 8) and Yāqūt (I, 770) put ʿAyn at-Tamr in the *kūra* of Upper Bihqubādh.
- <sup>438</sup> Kister, p. 152.
- <sup>439</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 246; Ṭabarī, I, 2062–3.
- <sup>440</sup> For events at ʿAyn at-Tamr, see El-ʿAlī, "Minṭaqat al-Kūfa," pp. 242–4.
- <sup>441</sup> Ṭabarī, I, p. 2065.
- <sup>442</sup> Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 45.
- <sup>443</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 3444.
- <sup>444</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 773.
- <sup>445</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 2455–6, 2637.
- <sup>446</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 3058.
- <sup>447</sup> Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 45.
- <sup>448</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 271.
- <sup>449</sup> Dīnawarī, p. 318.
- <sup>450</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 2497.
- <sup>451</sup> Ibn Qutayba, *al-Maʿārif*, p. 566.
- <sup>452</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 2677. This description bears comparison with the way the Armenian Geography lists Kola (Akola = al-Kūfa), Baṣra, Babylon and Tisbon as the four provinces of Babylonia shortly after the Muslim conquest (Hewsen, p. 290; Marquart, p. 142).
- <sup>453</sup> S. A. Nodelman, "A Preliminary History of Characene," *Berytus*, XIII (1960), 104.
- <sup>454</sup> Ḥamza, p. 45; Thaʿālibī, *Ghurār*, p. 494; Ṭabarī, I, 830. The Nabaṭī name of Shādh Sābūr is said to have been either Dīmā or Wabhā.
- <sup>455</sup> Ibn Khurrādādhbih, p. 7; Yāqūt, III, 227.
- <sup>456</sup> B. Gittin 80b.
- <sup>457</sup> Ibn Rustah, pp. 94–5; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, I, 120; idem, *Tanbih*, pp. 40, 54. Some of these places were along the Khūzistān road and/or a water-course such as the Nahr Tīrā that went from the Tigris to the lower Karkheh river rather than on the lower Tigris itself. Ibn Rustah (pp. 187–8) locates Bādhībīn five *farāsikh* east of Wāsiṭ; Dayrā, which may be Dabarbī, ten *farāsikh* east of Bādhībīn; aṭ-Ṭīb eight *farāsikh* east of Dayrā; and Qurqūb eight *farāsikh* east of aṭ-Ṭīb. Yāqūt (III, 225, 566) locates aṭ-Ṭīb midway between Wāsiṭ and Khūzistān (eighteen *farāsikh* from each) and Shāburzān between aṭ-Ṭīb and Sūs. Thus places such as aṭ-Ṭīb, Qurqūb, and Shāburzān may not actually have been on the Sasanian Tigris.
- <sup>458</sup> Yāqūt, I, 669.
- <sup>459</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 291.
- <sup>460</sup> Masʿūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 40.
- <sup>461</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 291.
- <sup>462</sup> Dīnawarī, p. 75.
- <sup>463</sup> El-ʿAlī, "Minṭaqat Wāsiṭ (2)," *Sumer*, XXVII (1971), pp. 153–4. Yāqūt (II, 442) identifies Khusrāw Sābūr as a village five *farāsikh* from Wāsiṭ.
- <sup>464</sup> Ibn Khurrādādhbih, p. 7.
- <sup>465</sup> Hewsen, p. 289.
- <sup>466</sup> Yāqūt, IV, 274–5.
- <sup>467</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 65, 275.
- <sup>468</sup> El-ʿAlī, "Minṭaqat Wāsiṭ (2)," p. 162.
- <sup>469</sup> Ibn Khurrādādhbih, p. 7; Yāqūt, III, 227.
- <sup>470</sup> El-ʿAlī, op. cit. (2), p. 157.
- <sup>471</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 252; Yāqūt, IV, 922. For Sasanian occupation at Uruk, see Finster and Schmidt, pp. 164–6.
- <sup>472</sup> Guidi, I, 18; II, 17; Scher, II (2), 512–13.
- <sup>473</sup> Yāqūt, IV, 275, 798–9.
- <sup>474</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 242; Ṭabarī, I, 2166, 2170; Yāqūt, II, 951–2. Both Ibn Khurrādādhbih (p. 7) and Yāqūt (III, 227) include az-Zandaward among the subdistricts of Shādh Sābūr.
- <sup>475</sup> R. Adams and H. J. Nissen, *The Uruk Countryside. The Natural Setting of Urban Societies* (Chicago and London, 1972), pp. 62, 222, 227; Finster and Schmidt, pp. 151–63; Adams, *Heartland of Cities* (Chicago and London, 1981), pp. 206–11. Al-Warkāʾ was defended unsuccessfully by the Persian generals an-Nūshajān and al-Faymān at the time of the conquest (Yāqūt, IV, 923).
- <sup>476</sup> Masʿūdī, *Tanbih*, pp. 40, 54; Ṭabarī, I, 2165–6, 2168–9.
- <sup>477</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2170.

- <sup>478</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2596. See also Dīnawarī, p. 143. Other accounts say that an-Nuʿmān was appointed by the caliph ʿUmar (Abī Yūsuf, p. 50; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 303; Ibn Saʿd, VI, 11), and Ibn Saʿd calls him an-Nuʿmān ibn ʿAmr ibn Muqarrin. This is the same period when an-Nuʿmān is supposed to have been collecting taxes in the region irrigated by the Tigris.
- <sup>479</sup> Dīnawarī, p. 163.
- <sup>480</sup> Ṭabarī, II, 775.
- <sup>481</sup> Walker, *Arab-Sassanian Coins*, pp. cxxiii-cxxiv, cxli.
- <sup>482</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 290; Ṭabarī, II, 1125–6; Yāqūt, IV, 884.
- <sup>483</sup> Yāqūt, II, 951.
- <sup>484</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 293.
- <sup>485</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 290; Gibson, pp. 46, 53, 57.
- <sup>486</sup> El-ʿAlī, “Minṭaqat al-Wāsiṭ (1)”, *Sumer*, XXVI (1970), p. 243; (2) p. 159.
- <sup>487</sup> Lavoix, pp. 69–70, 93–4, 405–6.
- <sup>488</sup> Jahshiyārī, p. 40.
- <sup>489</sup> Al-Muqaddasī (p. 114) lists Bādhībīn as one of the *mudun* of Wāsiṭ (El-ʿAlī, op. cit.) (1), p. 243).
- <sup>490</sup> Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, I, 120.
- <sup>491</sup> Walker, *Arab-Sassanian Coins*, pp. cxxiii-cxxiv, cxli. Yāqūt (IV, 409) says that the *Kūra* named after al-Mubārak included Fam aṣ-Silḥ.
- <sup>492</sup> El-ʿAlī, op. cit. (1), p. 258, (2) p. 163.
- <sup>493</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 19, 33, 59, 62, 66–8, 94, 108–10, 164–5, 213, 256–7, 272, 306, 310–11, 315–17, 351, 366–8, 423, 478, 602, 607; Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 151–87; Guidi, I, 34; II, 28; Scher, II (1), 149, 171; II (2), 494.
- <sup>494</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 33, 272.
- <sup>495</sup> ʾIshōʿ denah of Baṣra’s description of Kaskar in the land (*ethrā*) of Babil in Bēth Aramayē when referring to sixth century events may reflect Kaskar’s detachment from Maysān and its orientation further west in the late Sasanian period (Chabot, “Chasteté,” pp. 20, 243).
- <sup>496</sup> Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 275; Nodelman, pp. 102, 106, 114.
- <sup>497</sup> Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 198; Ṭabarī, I, 820; Thaʿālibī, *Ghurur*, p. 486; Yāqūt, IV, 257. Both Dīnawarī (p. 45) and Ḥamza (p. 43) have corrupt forms of this name.
- <sup>498</sup> Herzfeld, pp. 81, 103, 107, pl. 140, no. 9.
- <sup>499</sup> B. Qidd. 72b.
- <sup>500</sup> Ibn Rustah, p. 95. Masʿūdī (*Tanbih*, p. 52) says that the Persians called Bahmanshīr that stretch of the lower Tigris from al-Maftah to al-Ubulla and ʿAbbādān.
- <sup>501</sup> Hewsén, p. 296; Marquart, *Ērānsahr*, pp. 8, 16, 40.
- <sup>502</sup> Ḥamza, p. 43; Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 198; Yāqūt, I, 770, III, 861–2.
- <sup>503</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 89, 94, 345, 350.
- <sup>504</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 71, 321.
- <sup>505</sup> Ibn Khurradādhbih, p. 7; Yāqūt, III, 227.
- <sup>506</sup> Göbl, *Sasanidische Numismatik*, p. 84.
- <sup>507</sup> Bivar, “A Sasanian hoard from Hilla,” p. 168.
- <sup>508</sup> Walker, *Arab-Sassanian Coins*, pp. cxxiii-cxxiv, cxli.
- <sup>509</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 2379.
- <sup>510</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 385.
- <sup>511</sup> According to al-Madāʾīnī, there was a subdivision of Maysān that was also called Maysān (*ibid.*, p. 344), and Ibn Rustah (p. 95) speaks of the *nāhiya* of Maysān in *arḍ Maysān*.
- <sup>512</sup> Bivar, “A Sasanian hoard from Hilla,” p. 167; Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, pp. 157, 159–63.
- <sup>513</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 342; Dīnawarī, pp. 123–4; Ibn Saʿd, VII (1), 3; Yaʿqūbī, *Les pays*, p. 166; Yāqūt, IV, 468. Yāqūt calls al-Madhār the *qaṣaba* of Maysān, and Dīnawarī also tells of a *marzbān* of Maysān who was defeated by al-Mughīra ibn Shuʿba.
- <sup>514</sup> Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrikh*, II, 181; Yāqūt, IV, 714–15.
- <sup>515</sup> Ibn Saʿd, VII (1), 91.
- <sup>516</sup> Levoix, pp. 69, 92; Miles, “Rare Islamic Coins,” p. 27. Although Abazqubādh or Abarqubādh is listed as one of the four subdivisions of Maysān or of Shādh Bahman (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 344; Ibn Khurradādhbih, p. 7; Yāqūt, III, 227) and may be identical with the district which Yaʿqūbī (*Les pays*, p. 166) calls ʾIzqubādh near al-Madhār, there is no information on its administration. A notable of Abarqubādh called Faylakān led the Persians of Maysān at the time of the conquest (Ṭabarī, I, 2030). Markwart’s derivation (*Südarmanien*, pp. 199–200) of Abaz-Qubādh from Weh-Āmid-i Kawādh seems forced. Abarqubādh was a mint for post-reform dirhams (G. Miles, “Abarqubādh, a new Umayyad mint,” *Museum Notes*, IV (1950), 115–20).
- <sup>517</sup> Walker, *Arab-Sassanian Coins*, pp. cxxiii-cxxiv, cxli.
- <sup>518</sup> Ibn Khurradādhbih, p. 7.
- <sup>519</sup> Yāqūt, III, 227.
- <sup>520</sup> Streck, El<sup>9</sup> art. “Maisān.”
- <sup>521</sup> Ibn Rustah, p. 94.
- <sup>522</sup> Yāqūt, IV, 468.
- <sup>523</sup> Dīnawarī, p. 124; Ṭabarī, I, 2385.
- <sup>524</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 2538.
- <sup>525</sup> Abū Yūsuf, p. 129. Manādhīr appears to have been east of Dast-i Maysān on the border of Khuzistān (Yāqūt, IV, 644), and was in the quarter of Fārs under the Sasanians (Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrikh*, I, 201).
- <sup>526</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 385.
- <sup>527</sup> Gaube, *Arabosasanidische Numismatik*, p. 94; Walker, *Arab-Sassanian Coins*, pp. xlv, xlviii, lvi, cxvii-cxviii, cxi-cxli, 69–70, 104.
- <sup>528</sup> Levoix, pp. 68–9, 91; Miles, “Rare Islamic Coins,” pp. 24–5.
- <sup>529</sup> El-ʿAlī, “Minṭaqat Wāsiṭ” (1), pp. 241, 243–4; (2), pp. 169–70; Ibn Khurradādhbih, p. 7; Thaʿālibī, *Ghurur*, p. 486; Yāqūt, III, 227.
- <sup>530</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 345.
- <sup>531</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 385.
- <sup>532</sup> Ṭabarī, II, 591; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrikh*, II, 277.
- <sup>533</sup> Ibn Qutayba, *Maʾārif*, p. 264; Kister, “Al-Ḥīra,” p. 159.
- <sup>534</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 372; Kister, p. 151.
- <sup>535</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 2022.
- <sup>536</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, pp. 242, 340–1; Ṭabarī, I, 2057–8.
- <sup>537</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 385.
- <sup>538</sup> Ibn Saʿd, VII (1), 151.
- <sup>539</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 159.
- <sup>540</sup> Dīnawarī, p. 123; C. Pellat, *Le milieu basrien et la formation de Ḡāḥiḡ* (Paris, 1953), pp. 2–7; Yaʿqūbī, *Les pays*, p. 7; Yāqūt, II, 429.
- <sup>541</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 385.
- <sup>542</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 306. When Muʿāwiya made Ziyād governor of al-Baṣra and its dependencies in 45/665, the territory under his authority included Fārs, Khurāsān, Sijistān, Baḥrayn, Uman and the Indian frontier (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 492–3; Ibn Qutayba, *Maʾārif*, p. 346; Ṭabarī, II, 73).
- <sup>543</sup> Dīnawarī, p. 238; Ṭabarī, II, 86, 94, 156; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrikh*, II, 272. Elia bar Shināyē expresses the significance of the re-unification of al-ʿIrāq under Ziyād by calling him the governor of Bēth Aramayē (Eliae Metropolitae Nisibeni, *Opus Chronologicum*, I, CSCO, LXII, *Scriptores Syri*, XXI (Louvain, 1954), 142; Brooks, CSCO, LXIII, *Scriptores Syri*, XXIII, 69).
- <sup>544</sup> Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrikh*, II, 277.
- <sup>545</sup> Ibn Qutayba, *Maʾārif*, p. 571.
- <sup>546</sup> Gaube, p. 89; Lavoix, pp. 50–1, 58; Paruck, *Sāsānian Coins*, pp. 101, 128, 146; Mrs. W. A. al-Qazzāz, “An-Nuqūd al-islāmiyya al-maḍrūba bi-l-Baṣra ʿalā ṭ-ṭirāz as-sāsānī,” *Sumer*, XXIV (1968), 127–9; Walker, *Arab-Sassanian Coins*, pp. cxi, cxxiv, cxi-cxli, 57–60, 102.
- <sup>547</sup> Lavoix, pp. 62–3, 106; I. Salman, “Aqdam dirham muʿarrab li-l-khalīfa ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān” *Sumer*, XXVII (1971), 151.
- <sup>548</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 19, 90, 164–5, 256–7, 345, 423; Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 266–70.
- <sup>549</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 34, 272.
- <sup>550</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 62, 66–8, 71, 89, 94, 108–9, 213, 306, 310–11, 315–7, 321, 345, 350, 366–7, 478.
- <sup>551</sup> R. Duval, “Iṣōʿyahb Patriarchae III, Liber Epistularum,” CSCO, XI, (Louvain, 1955), 273; XII, 198; Sachau, *Syrische Rechtsbücher*, II, (Berlin, 1907), 28–31; Thomas of Marghā, II, 181–2. Abraham, the metropolitan of Pʿrāth, is said to have been taken captive by Hurmuzān in the fighting between the latter and Abū Mūsā (Guidi, I, 36; II, 30). This is most likely to have happened

when Hurmuzān raided Maysān in 18/639 (Ṭabarī, I, 2534).

<sup>552</sup> Sachau, pp. 30–1.

<sup>553</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 601–2, 606–7. At about the same time, ʾIshōʿdenāḥ is called “the metropolitan of Pʿrāth dhʿ Mayshan which is Baṣrah” (Chabot, “Chasteté,” p. 228).

<sup>554</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 43, 60, 62, 95, 165, 312, 285, 307, 311, 351, 424, 478; Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 272, 274. Fiey (p. 272) attempts to secure the survival of the bishopric of Karkhā dhʿ Mayshan by arguing that Dast-i Maysān was another name for it. His argument is partly based on the fact that ʿAmr (who is notorious for his anachronisms) calls a fourth-century bishop of Karkhā dhʿ Mayshan bishop of Dasīmsān, and partly on the ingenious suggestion that Dast might be an abbreviation of *dastgerd* (“fortress” = *karkhā*), which would make Dast-i Maysān the Persian translation of Karkh Maysān. Apart from the fact that virtually everything else known about them indicates that these were two separate, but contiguous, places, the presence of Dasht-i Maysān on a dirham that was struck there in 80/699–70 makes Fiey’s explanation of its Persian meaning unlikely. The *dasht* (plain, or desert) of Maysān was only created by the shift of the lower Tigris in the late Sasanian period, and there is not evidence of any kind so far of the existence of an administrative subdistrict called Dast-i Maysān before the very end of the Sasanian period at the time of the conquest. Dast-i Maysān

served as an administrative jurisdiction mainly in the early Islamic period. Karkhā dhʿ Mayshan and Dast-i Maysān were separate and consecutive rather than identical.

<sup>555</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 34, 43, 53, 60, 62, 66–8, 165, 214, 272, 285, 299, 307, 310–11, 315–17, 424, 479.

<sup>556</sup> Masʿūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 48.

<sup>557</sup> Fiey’s attempt (*Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 255) to save the appearances by identifying Nʿhargūr with Abazqubādh has no evidence to support it.

<sup>558</sup> Guidi, I, 23, 34; II, 20, 28. Since both references occur in the same text, this is probably the idiosyncrasy of a single author or copyist.

<sup>559</sup> If Nʿhargūr and Nʿhargūl were really the same place, the difference in spelling needs to be explained. Such an orthographic mistake is unlikely in the Syriac script, although it might have been made by someone influenced by Pahlavi orthography. Since Nahr Jūr is the form which occurs in Arabic, Nʿhargūl might also be explained as a variant, local pronunciation.

<sup>560</sup> Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 257; Ibn Rustah, p. 94.

<sup>561</sup> Chabot, *Synodicon*, pp. 34, 43, 53, 59, 62, 66–8, 95, 109, 165, 214, 272, 285, 299, 306, 310–11, 315–17, 351, 367, 424, 478.

<sup>562</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 830.

<sup>563</sup> Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, III, 277–82.